



OUTLINE  
/   
OF THE  
HISTORY OF BENGAL,

COMPILED

FOR THE USE OF YOUTHS IN INDIA,

BY

JOHN C. MARSHMAN

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NINTH EDITION  
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THE Compiler presents the present work to the  
 Instructors of youth with much diffidence. He  
 was informed that the style of the Brief Survey  
 of History and the History of India, was adapted  
 only for youths in the higher classes, and that a  
 Book in easier language was desirable. Before at-  
 tending to the completion of those works, there-  
 fore, he determined to make the experiment of pro-  
 viding a work for the tender capacities of those  
 who were but feeling their way to our language. The  
 experience which he has had of the difficulty of  
 adopting a naked simplicity of style, in so refined  
 and figurative a language as the English, makes  
 him doubtful about the success of the present un-  
 dertaking. But as it is indispensable to the pro-  
 gress of education that works of this humble cha-  
 racter should be compiled, even the failure of the  
 present attempt may serve as a beacon for those  
 who follow in the same track. It presents a brief  
 and simple outline of the History of Bengal from  
 the Voidyu dynasty to the close of Lord William  
 Bentinck's administration. This is a history with  
 which every lad in Bengal should be familiar, and  
 the Compiler would vainly hope that the  
 subject may be found some con-  
 the mode in which it has been treated.

The works which have furnished the materials for the present compilation have been the following —

Mill's History of British India  
 Stewart's History of Bengal  
 Orme's Historical Fragments  
 Auber's History of India  
 Bruce's Annals of the East India Company  
 The Seir Mutakherin  
 Sir John Shore's Minute on the Revenues  
 Mr James Grant's Analysis of the Revenues of Bengal  
 Hamilton's History of Dinagepore  
 Steinling's Memoir on Orissa  
 The Oriental Miscellany  
 Briggs's Ferishta's History of Bengal.  
 Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons  
 Vansittart's Narrative  
 Verelst's View of Bengal  
 Raynal's History of the European Settlements

J C M

*Scramponc, Dec 27, 1838.*

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OUTLINE  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF BENGAL

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SECTION I

BENGAL is that division of India in which the Bengalee language is spoken and written. It has the sea on the South, on the North and the East. It is bounded by mountains and forests, the countries on the West are inhabited by a number of wild Hill tribes, who have never become Hindoos. It is supposed to contain about thirty millions of inhabitants.

The early history of Bengal is very obscure. We cannot tell when the Hindoo religion first began to be taught in it. It is supposed that the first inhabitants were not Hindoos, but of the same race as the Hill tribes on the West. When the Brahmuns came into it they brought the Hindoo religion, just as the Mahomedans brought with them the religion of Mahomed. Neither can we tell when the present Bengalee language was formed. We find

many words in it which are either Sanskrit, or Arabic, or Persian; we therefore suppose, that there was an original language, used by the original inhabitants, which is lost. The present Bengalee character is the same as the Nagree, only a little different in form.

It is supposed that Gour was the most ancient city in Bengal. Some even say that it was built more than two thousand five hundred years ago. From it, the whole country is sometimes called Gournava. Gour is in the North of Bengal. The capital of the East of Bengal was Sonargong, or Sonvurnu gram, about eight miles from the modern city of Dacca. From the most ancient times, this part of Bengal was celebrated for its very fine cotton cloths. More than eighteen hundred years ago, they used to be taken far away to Europe, to the great city of Rome. They were highly prized there, and were called by the Romans *Arpes*, which is the Bengalee name for cotton. It is not improbable that the vessels which were engaged in this trade, went up the great river, the Padma, to Sonargong, to purchase their merchandize.

The chief city of the West of Bengal was Satgong, not very far North of Hooghly. It was known to the Romans. It is also mentioned in the Ptolemaus as *Saptu gram*, or the seven villages. It was the great port of Bengal, to which nearly all the sea orno trade was brought. All these three cities, Gour, Sonargong, and Satgong are now in utter ruin.

Fifteen hundred years ago Bengal was part of the great empire of Mugud, now South Behar. The capital of that empire is supposed to have been Palibothra, or Patalipotra, which some consider the same as Patna. After the fall of the Mugud empire, there was a race of Kings of the name of Pal, who were Boudhists. They had dominion in Bengal, but whether they ruled the whole country cannot be discovered. The founder of this family has left a great monument of his reign in the vast pond of Muheepal-diggy, in the Dinagepore district. It is supposed that after the dynasty of the Pals came the Voidyu family of the Sens. They were the last Hindoo Kings of Bengal, but their history is very obscure.

According to the Hindoos, Adisoor was the founder of the Sen family, and he reigned in the year 1063, that is, less than eight hundred years ago. It is said by some that he was vexed with the Brahmuns of Bengal, because they did not know their religious duties. Others say, that, during the reign of the Boudhists Kings of the family of Pal, the brahmuns had become extinct. Adisoor sent to the King of Kunouj, and asked him to send five brahmuns well instructed in the shastrus. He did so, these brahmuns brought with them five servants, and from these brahmuns are descended the high caste brahmuns of Bengal, from their servants are descended the kayustus.

Bullal sen is said to have been the son of Adi-

soor But very lately there has been dug up in the East of Bengal a copper plate which was engraved in the days of the Voidru Kings. It states that the father of Bullal sen was Vijuy-sen Again, the Ain Akbery says, that Sook-sen was the father of Bullal But there is proof that Adisoor was not the father of Bullal. Adisoor invited *five* brahmuns from Kunouj, and Bullal-sen, when their descendants had become very numerous, is said to have separated them into classes, and established the order of koolins How could the brahmuns have multiplied so greatly in one reign? We conclude, therefore, that Adisoor was not the father of Bullal, but was of some preceding family, and that Vijuy-sen was really his father, and the founder of that royal race

Bullal-sen is fabled to have been the son of the Brumhapooter river, which took the form of a rahmun He was one of the most powerful of the native Kings of Bengal, and is said to have reigned fifty years He resided generally at Vikrampoie, near Sonargong, but occasionally lived at Gour, which was considered the capital of the country He divided the brahmun and kayastus into various ranks, which they still retain The most virtuous he made koolins, but unfortunately he made this rank hereditary, which has been a great misfortune to the country, because the present koolins have all the honour, and but few of the virtues of their ancestors In his time the country was divided into five parts

1 *Barendo*, with the Muhannunda on the West, the Pudma (Ganges) on the South, the Koorootoya on the East, and other governments on the North

2 *Bungu*, East from the Koorootoya to the Brumhapooter The capital of Bengal, Vikram-pore, which as we have said, was near Dacca, was situated in Bungu

3 *Bagice*, the Delta, called also Dwipa, or the island, it had three sides, the Bhaguruttee river on the West, the Pudma on the East, the sea on the South

4 *Rahrce* It had the Bhaguruttee and the Pudma on the North and the East, and other kingdoms on the West and South

5 *Mithila*, having the Muhannunda and Gour on the East, the Bhaguruttee on the South, and other countries on the West and South

1 Bullal-sen was succeeded by his son, Lukhmunsen, about the year 1116 He is said to have greatly beautified the city of Gour, and to have called it after his own name, Luknouty He was succeeded by Mudhoo sen, after whom came Kesava sen, and finally Soo-sen This Prince the Hindoos consider as the last of this family But the Mahomedan historians make out two more Kings, called Nowjeh, and Lukhmuneja, how to reconcile these accounts, we know not When the Mahomedans first invaded Bengal in the year 1203, it was Lukhmuneja, or Lokhemon, who was on the throne and he kept his court at Nuddea

## SECTION II

We proceed now, to speak of the conquests of the Moosulmans Their empire began with their prophet, Mahomet, who died in the year 640 Not long after his death, they subdued many kingdoms in Europe, Asia and Africa, and became the most powerful people then in the world Before the year 1000, they had conquered all the countries West of the Indus In that year, Mahomed, the King of Guzni, which lay sixty miles West of that river, came with a large army into Hindoostan. He plundered it of much spoil, and then returned to his own capital Seeing how easy it was to conquer the Hindoos, he came into the country twelve times in twenty-five years, put to death many thousands of the Natives, broke down the Hindoo temples and images, and plundered the country He did not, however, take possession of any provinces, except those on the Indus His capital still continued to be at Guzni, West of that river. His successors became gradually weak, and the Hindoos courageous, and they retook many of the places which he had conquered

At length, a very powerful Mahomedan Chief destroyed his kingdom, and established a new dynasty West of the Indus This was Mahomed of Ghore The kingdom of Ghore was therefore founded on the ruins of Guzni, about two hundred years after the first Mahomedan invasion Ma-

homed Ghory came with a powerful army to invade India in the year 1191. The Hindoo Kings in the North, the Kings of Ajmere, of Goozerat, of Delhi, of Kunouj, were then quarrelling among themselves, and did not unite to oppose the Mahomedans. Mahomed, in three years, conquered the whole of Northern India. He utterly destroyed all the old and powerful Hindoo kingdoms in the North. Before this time, although the Mahomedans had often over-run the country, there had still been a Hindoo King in Delhi. Mahomed, however, resolved to keep the country which he had conquered. Hence he made his own General, Kootub-ood deen, Governor of Delhi, and ordered him to send armies to conquer the whole country. After the death of his Master, Kootub became independent, and he was, in reality, the first Mahomedan Emperor of India.

Kootub wishing to enlarge his kingdom, sent Bukhtiyar Khiljy, his General, to conquer Behar. He succeeded with great ease, and then Kootub ordered him to go on and conquer Bengal. The King of Bengal at that time was Lukhmun sen, of the old Voldyn family. By Mahomedan writers he is called Lukhmuneya. He was the last Hindoo King of Bengal. He sometimes resided at Gour, but more commonly at Nuddea. He was born after his father's death, and was, therefore, from his birth, a King. When the Mahomedans invaded Bengal he was eighty years old, and was much esteemed for justice and generosity. Bukhtiyar came to the



confines of Bengal in 1203, and prepared to invade the country. The Brahmuns then went to the King, and told him that it was foretold in the shastius, that Bengal would be subdued by the Turks, and that the Turks were now come. They advised him, therefore to take his family and his treasure and to fly. The King said he was a very old man, and would not leave Nuddea. The nobles and the brahmuns, instead of remaining to assist the aged Monarch, fled with their goods into Orissa. No preparation had been made to resist Bukhtiyar. He marched with his army through Bengal, and approached Nuddea. On arriving near it, he left his troops in the wood and entered the city with only seventeen horsemen. He advanced to the palace, the King had sat down to a meal. Hearing that the enemy was upon him, he leaped out at a back door, threw himself into a boat, and fled to Orissa. But other accounts say that he fled to Vikrampore, the old capital of Bungu, near Dacca. Nuddea submitted to Bukhtiyar, the Hindoo kingdom of Bengal became extinct, and from the taking of Nuddea in 1203, to the battle of Plassey in 1757, namely, for more than five hundred and fifty years, the Hindoos of Bengal continued under the Mahomedans, they did not make a single effort to be free. Bukhtiyar marched from Nuddea to Gour, and took the city with ease. He pulled down the Hindoo temples, and built Mahomedan mosques with the mate-

rials In the course of one year, the whole of Bengal was entirely subdued by him But it is said by some, that the country about Sonargong was not at first reduced, but continued for some years independent And it appears also that some of the frontier provinces were not completely subdued A year after the conquest of Bengal, Bukhtiyar marched an army into Assam He moved up the left bank of the Brumhapooter for ten days, and then crossed it by a stone bridge of twenty-two arches This is probably the same stone bridge which still exists He then went up into the mountains, and was deserted He returned ashamed and broken-hearted, and he died three years after he had conquered Bengal Being at a great distance from Delhi, he did as he liked, he proclaimed himself independent, he read the khootba in his own name, and he distributed the conquered lands of the Hindoos among his own Khuljy officers Thus they became so powerful that, after this, they often made whom they would Governor of Bengal.

On the death of Bukhtiyar, his officers immediately chose one of their own number as Governor, and he took the title of King The Emperor of Delhi, hearing of this, sent an army which conquered the country, and Aly Merdan was appointed Soobadar Soon after, Kootub ood deen, the Emperor of Delhi died, and Aly Merdan made himself independent But as he became very

arrogant, the Khilijy chiefs assassinated him, and made Gyas ood-deen, Governor. He kept his court at Gour, and adorned the city with many noble buildings. He was a great benefactor to the country. He erected a causeway, or *bund*, from Nagore, the capital of Beerbhoom, to Debcote, East of Gour. This road extended ten days' journey, and people were thus enabled easily to cross the country, even during the rains. He was impartial in his decisions, and made no distinction between Hindoos, and Mahomedans. He was also very powerful, he made the Rajahs of Assam, Tirhoot, and Tipperah pay tribute. Thus he reigned happily ten years, but at length he revolted against the Emperor, who sent an army and defeated him. He died on the field of battle, in 1227.

In the next ten years there were three other Governors, and then Toghan Khan was appointed Soobadar, in 1237. Six years after, he marched into Orissa, and fought a battle with the Hindoos. They defeated him, and pursued him to his capital, Gour, which place, as well as Nagore, in Beerbhoom, they besieged. Toghan Khan was so pressed by them that he sought the aid of the Emperor, who sent Timur Khan to his assistance with an army. But Timur was so much pleased with Bengal, that he determined to keep it himself; and hence, a battle ensued between him and Toghan. The Hindoos were not a little amused to see two Moosulman Go-

vernors thus fighting with each other Toghan was defeated, but was allowed to leave the country with all his property. Soon after, he was made Soobadar of Oudé. Timur governed Bengal two years.

In 1253 Mullik Yuzbek was appointed Governor. He determined to take revenge on the King of Orissa; two battles were fought with success, in the third he was defeated, and lost his elephants. Returning to Gour, he next invaded Sylhet, and obtained much plunder. Hearing that the Emperor at Delhi was very weak, he declared himself independent, and soon after marched into Assam, but was entirely defeated, and died of his wounds. This was the second time the Mahomedans had invaded Assam, and returned in disgrace. On the death of Mullik, Jelal was sent from Delhi to govern Bengal. While he was employed in subduing some independent Hindoo Rajahs, the Governor of Kurrah came down, and took and plundered Gour. Jelal was killed in action, and his opponent was made Soobadar of Bengal, through the presents which he sent to Delhi.

In 1277 Addeen Togrul became Governor of this country. He entered Tipperah, plundered it of much wealth, and of a hundred elephants. Having heard that Balin, his Master at Delhi, was dead, he proclaimed himself King of Bengal. The Emperor, however, was not dead, though he was very old. He sent two armies, one after the other, to subdue

this rebel, but both were defeated. Enraged at this, he collected his forces, and marched in person against the Soobadar. Togrul fled with all his wealth and troops into Orissa. The Emperor pursued him, and encamped for some days near him. One day, Mahomed Shah, a brave General in the Emperor's army, advanced with forty horsemen into the camp of the rebel. He at once entered the tent of Togrul, and shouting 'victory to King Balin,' put every one he met to the sword. The rebel Soobadar fled alone to the river. Mahomed followed him close, engaged him in the stream, and cut off his head. As soon as his troops heard of this, they fled. The Emperor obtained much plunder and returned to Gour, and, in 1282, made his own son, Nazir ood deen, Governor of Bengal. Four years after this, Kei Kobad, the son of Nazir, became Emperor of Delhi, but gave himself up to amusement. His father wrote him a letter, and begged him to attend to business, and give up pleasure, but it had no effect. He, therefore, marched towards Delhi with an army, and Kei Kobad marched out to meet him. While the two armies lay in sight of each other, the father begged to have an interview with his son. Kei Kobad agreed to this, but by the advice of his wicked Minister, ordered that his father, in approaching the throne, should prostrate himself three times. As the old man entered his presence, and bent himself to the ground, his son, unable to bear the sight, leaped

from the throne, and falling on his father's neck, wept. A reconciliation now took place, Nazir ood-deen spent many days with his son, and gave him much good advice, but when the son returned to the pleasures of Delhi, he forgot it all, and was soon after assassinated by his own Minister. During these troubles Nazir ood-deen remained independent in Bengal.

In the year 1293 a new dynasty ascended the throne of Delhi. The great Alla-ood deen became Emperor, and determined to conquer the Deccan. Nazir made his humble submissions to the Emperor, but as he dreaded the violence of his temper, he resigned his government. He was however confirmed in the government of Gour, and the districts near it. Alla ood-deen divided Bengal into two parts, and made Bahadoor Khan the Governor of the South Eastern part. He fixed his seat at the ancient capital of Sonargong. In a few years Bahadoor became very tyrannical, and made himself independent. Mahomed Toghluk, who had become the Emperor of Delhi, marched against him. On the Emperor's march to Sonargong, old Nazir ood-deen met him with presents, and was confirmed as Governor of Gour. He died in 1325, after having governed this province forty three years. Bahadoor, not able to resist the Emperor, submitted to him. He was pardoned on condition of giving up all his treasures. For fifteen years after this, Bengal continued under two Governors, but when Ma-

homed Togluk, the Emperor, had become hateful to all his subjects, one Fukéer-ood-deen, the armour bearer of the Governor of Sonargong, gained over the troops, and made himself master of Bengal. He struck the coin and read the khootba in his own name, the Emperor was too weak to subdue him. He fixed his residence at Sonargong. Soon after, coveting the whole country, he marched against Gour, but was taken prisoner and put to death, after a reign of two years. Fukeer ood-deen was succeeded by one Mobarik Aly, but at the end of seventeen months he was assassinated by Shums-ood-deen, who took possession of the whole kingdom. He was, in fact, the first independent Mahomedan King of Bengal. Thus this province which had been conquered in 1203, by the Mahomedans, remained subject to Delhi, a hundred and forty years, and then became independent. And it remained under its own independent Mahomedan Kings from the year 1343 to 1576, for a period of two hundred and thirty-three years. In 1576 it was subdued by the Mogul Emperor of Delhi, the great Akbar and became a soobah of the Empire.

### SECTION III

As soon as Shums ood-deen was firm in his throne, he marched against the King of Tipperah, and plundered him of money and elephants. It was from

the forests in the East of Bengal, stretching from Sylhet to Tipperah and Chittagong, that the country has always been supplied with elephants. Shums-ood-deen removed the seat of government from Sonargong to Peruya, not far from Gour. Ten years after his accession, he made war on the imperial Governor of Behar. The Emperor of Delhi, Feroze, determined to punish him and to reconquer Bengal, and came down with an army. Shums-ood-deen left his son to defend Peruya and himself returned to Sonargong. Peruya was easily taken. The Emperor then marched against Akdalla, a large fort near Sonargong, in which the King of Bengal had shut himself up, but he was unable to take it, and as the rains had set in, he made peace and returned to Delhi. In the year 1357, the King of Bengal sent presents to Delhi, and the Emperor, seeing he could not conquer that province, acknowledged its independence and also fixed its limits. Shums-ood-deen after this lived without anxiety, and built Hazeepore, opposite to Patna, now famous for its fair. After he had governed Bengal sixteen years, his son Sekunder ascended the throne in the year 1358.

When the Emperor heard that Shums-ood-deen was dead, he got together an army and marched into Bengal. Sekunder, after his father's example, shut himself up in Akdalla. The Emperor's troops besieged it, but when the rains set in, they were obliged to give up their designs, and the Emperor,



on receiving a présent of elephants, withdrew In 1361 Sekunder erected the great Adina mosque, near Peruya, of which there are some remains, which shew that it must have been magnificent indeed He had two wives, by the one, <sup>seventeen</sup> seventeen sons, by the other, one This son knowing that his step-mother was contriving to destroy him, fled from the palace, and raised an army His aged father marched out with his troops to meet him, a battle ensued, and the old King was killed The son, who was called Gyas-ood-deen, ascended the throne, and immediately put out the eyes of all his brothers, but he afterwards governed the country with great justice for six years He invited the celebrated Persian poet Hafiz to his Court, but he refused to come on account of the distance The King died in 1373, and his son, and then his grandson, mounted the throne The latter was dethroned by Gunesh, a Hindoo, the Chief of Betourin Here then we have a Hindoo on the throne again His countrymen naturally expected that he would do much for them and their religion But Gunesh found the Mahomedans so powerful, that he was obliged to leave the Affghan Zemindars their estates He, however, built many Hindoo temples at Peruya He was so much beloved by all his subjects that after his death the Moosulmans demanded his body to bury it, and the Hindoos claimed it to burn His son Cheitmul succeeded him, but forsook the Hindoo religion He removed the Court from Peruya to Gour, and

adorned that city with buildings beyond all his predecessors. The magnificent mosque, the baths, the reservoir, the caravanserai, usually called Jellaly, were built by his orders. He governed with great equity, and died in 1409, and was succeeded by his son Ahmed Shah. A little before this time, the great Timur, or Tamerlane, came with an immense army of Moguls across the Indus. He conquered Delhi, put many thousands to death, and proclaimed himself Emperor. But after he had been in India a year, he quitted it and never returned. In consequence of the irruption of Timur, the empire of Delhi fell to pieces. One Governor after another declared himself independent. Malwa, Goozerat, Khandesh and Juanpore, each became separate kingdoms. Of these new kingdoms that of Juanpore lay nearest to Bengal, and its King Ibrahim invaded that country, and took away many prisoners. Ahmed Shah, the King, unable to cope with him, sent a letter to Shah Roch, the grandson of Timur, at Herat, to beg his protection. He immediately wrote to Ibrahim to say, that if he did not desist, he would come and separate his soul from his body. After this we hear no more of Ibrahim's invasion of Bengal. Ahmed died in 1426, leaving no son, with him this brief Hindoo dynasty came to an end. It gained the throne by accident, and it did nothing to restore the Hindoo faith, for the second Prince became a Mahomedan, and even caused many of his Hindoo subjects to embrace ~~the~~ religion.

The Mahomedan nobles now raised Nazir Shah to the throne in 1426. He reigned thirty-one years, but nothing is remembered of him, except that he built the fortifications round Gour, and erected its splendid gates. He was succeeded by his son Bar-bek Shah. He was the first to introduce Abyssinian and negro slaves into his court, who did great mischief to the realm. He reigned seventeen years, his son, seven years, the latter dying without issue, the nobles raised Futteli Shah to the throne. The Abyssinians had now become very insolent and powerful, and as the King endeavoured to restrain them, they put him to death. The chief eunuch then became King, and took the name of Sultan Shah Zada. In eight months, he was assassinated by Mulk Andiel, an Abyssinian, his General in Chief, a man of very great abilities, who himself now became Sovereign of Bengal. He added new buildings to the city of Gour, but both his reign and that of his son did not exceed four years. To the latter succeeded Muzuffir Shah, a great tyrant, who became odious to the people. His Vizier, Hussein Shah, Sheriff of Mecca, rebelled and besieged him in his capital. The King marched out and gave him battle, twenty thousand were slain in the field before Gour, and among them was the King himself.

Syud Hussein Shah ascended the throne of Bengal, in 1489. He was without doubt the most powerful among all the Sovereigns of Bengal. He was

descended from the prophet Mahomed. On his first arrival in Bengal he was in a very humble situation; but the Cazy of Chandpore, hearing of his illustrious descent, gave him his daughter in marriage. He gradually rose to be Primo Minister, and at length King of Bengal. After the battle in which Muzufir Shah, his master, lost his life, he gave up the city of Gbur to be plundered by his troops. After several days' plunder, Syud Hussein ordered his soldiers to desist, but on their refusal, he put twelve thousand to death. On ascending the throne, he determined to reform the government. His first step was to disband all the *paiks*, who had so often assisted in dethroning the Sovereign. His next step was to dismiss all the Abyssinians. They were expelled from northern Hindoostan, and proceeded into the Deccan, where they became famous under the name of Siddees.

Having thus put the government in order, he ruled with great justice for twenty-four years. He greatly encouraged the learned. He overran Orissa, and also that part of Assam which lies nearest to Bengal. During his reign, Hoosung, the last of the independent Kings of Juanpore was driven from his kingdom. He sought refuge in Bengal, where the King settled a princely pension on him. The Emperor of Delhi, pursuing Hoosung, came to the borders of Bengal, but a treaty of peace was concluded between him and the King. By this agreement, Behar, Tirhoot, and Sircar Sarun, were

ceded to the Emperor, provided he did not invade Bengal. Hussem died in 1520. He was succeeded by his son, Nusserit Shah. It was in his reign that Sultan Baber came down from Cabul, and conquered Delhi, and in 1526 established the empire of the Moguls in India. Nusserit made conquests in Behar, and aided the dethroned Emperor of Delhi, Mahmood Lodi. Upon this Baber marched against him, but the King prudently made his submission. He was assassinated by the eunuchs of his palace, whom he had treated cruelly. He erected that noble building, the great golden mosque, called the *Sona Masjid*, at Gour. His son, Mahomed Shah, ascended the throne, but was deserted and dethroned by the celebrated Shere Shah.

Shere Shah was the greatest man among the Mahomedans, who had yet appeared in Bengal. His name was originally Ferid, he acquired that of Shere, which means a lion, from having cut down one of those animals in single combat. He was an Affghan. His grandfather came to India in search of service, and was engaged by Beloly Lodi, the Emperor of Delhi. His father was afterwards appointed Governor of the district of Sasseram in Behar. On his father's death, Shere obtained his paternal estate, but lost it twice through the opposition of his relatives. Just at this juncture the great Baber became Emperor of Delhi. Shere repaired to his court, and was introduced to him. On this occasion, he diligently studied the character, and

This place was situated on a high mountain, which overlooks the Soane, and was reckoned one of the strongest forts in India. While Shere was making himself strong in Rhotas, Humayoon spent three months in nothing at Gour. The rains now set in, and he found it necessary to return to Delhi. Shere posted his army on the route through which the Emperor must return, on the banks of the Curumassas, and arrested his progress. For three months the imperial army lay idle in the camp, not able either to advance or to go back. Humayoon, at length sent to say that if Shere would let him pass, he would give up Bengal and Behar to him. Shere agreed to this, and swore on the Koran that he would not injure the Moguls. That very night while they were making merry in their camp, Shere crossed over, and put eight thousand of them to death. The Emperor escaped with a few friends. This event happened in 1539. Shere immediately hastened to Gour, and the day after his arrival assumed the power and the title of King of Bengal and Behar. After spending a year in arranging the government, he marched with 50,000 Afghans to attack the Emperor. A battle was fought near Kunouj, Humayoon was defeated, and Shere became Shere Shah, Emperor of Delhi.

From the field of battle he returned to Bengal and divided it into districts. He settled the Kingdom so admirably, that it enjoyed peace during his

reign. In 1641, he proceeded to Agra, and mounted the imperial throne. In 1645 he was killed by the bursting of a shell. He employed fifteen years in fighting for the crown, and he enjoyed it only five years. He left many glorious monuments. From Sonargong in Bengal, to the Banks of the Indus, a distance of 2000 miles, he built earavanseras at every stage, and sunk a well at the distance of every coss for the benefit of the public. He ordered that at every stage, all travellers, without distinction, should be entertained at his expense. He also adorned the road with rows of trees. He was the first who ever employed a mounted post in India. During his reign highway robberies were unknown. He lies buried in a magnificent tomb at Sasseram, in the middle of an artificial lake, a mile square. His mausoleum is one of the most majestic edifices in India, but, under the present government, it is going fast to decay.

Between the death of Shere Shah in 1545, and the conquest of Bengal by the Moguls, in 1576, during thirty-one years, four monarchs filled the throne. Selim, the son of Shere, appointed one of his own relatives, Mahomed Khan Soor, his deputy in Bengal. He continued faithful till the death of his master, when he rendered himself independent, and made some conquests in the district of Jnanpore, but in 1555 he was defeated by the Imperial General Behadur Shah, his son, succeeded him, and the year after his accession, marched against

the Emperor of Delhi, who was defeated and slain in a battle fought at Monghyr. This confined Be-  
hadur in the Government of Bengal and Behar,  
and he governed those provinces in peace till the  
year 1560, when he died, and was succeeded by his  
brother, who, at the end of three years, died at  
Gour. His son, a youth, was raised to the throne,  
but was assassinated immediately after. Soliman,  
an illustrious Afghan, of the tribe of Karsani, then  
seized upon the throne in 1564. Soon after, he des-  
patched an agent with valuable presents to the Em-  
peror Akbar, with assurances of respect and attach-  
ment. This wise measure secured the peace of Ben-  
gal, and enabled Soliman to extend his conquests

The powerful Kings of Orissa had previously to  
this time extended their conquests in Bengal, and  
hence the Orrias boast that their kingdom once  
extended to Trivenee on the Bhagurtee. In the  
year 1550, Telinga Mukund Deb, ascended the  
throne of Orissa. He was the last independent King  
of that country, he is described as a man of great  
courage and abilities. The early part of his reign  
was passed in constructing works of public utility  
or supererogation. Among other buildings, he founded  
a ghat and a temple at the sacred spot of Trivenee,  
which formed the northern boundary of his domi-  
ons Soliman, the King of Bengal, however, deter-  
mined on the conquest of Orissa, and sent an army  
to attack Mukund, but the first effort was not suc-  
cessful. At length he sent his General, the terrible



Kala-pahar, into Orissa, at the sound of whose beating the drum, according to the natives, the arms and legs of the idols dropped off for many a coss around. He was by birth a brahmin, but one of the princes of Gour having become enamoured of him, he turned Mahomedan and married her, and then became the most violent persecutor of the Hindoos mentioned in history. He entered Orissa with an army of Afghan horse on the part of his master, defeated the Rajah, and at once destroyed the independence of the country. According to Mahomedan historians, this event took place in 1568, according to Orissa authorities, in 1558. Kala-pahar was determined to leave no vestige of Hindoism in Orissa. He persecuted the brahmins with great fury, pulled down the temples, and destroyed the images. Above all, his rage was directed against the image of Jugunnath. On two former occasions, when Orissa had been invaded by foreign enemies, the priests fled with their idol into the mountains. When Kala-pahar approached the temple, the priests again fled with the god in a covered cart, and buried it in a pit on the banks of the Chilka lake. The conqueror was determined however to have the image. After a long search, he traced the place of its concealment, dug up Shree Jee, (as the Orissa designate the idol,) and carried it off on an elephant as far as the Ganges. Before his departure he broke every image at Pooree. On the banks of the Ganges, he erected a large pile of

son Akbar hearing of this, sent a man named Khan,  
the viceroy of Jaunpur, with an army into Bengal  
and Behar. The Raghoochoudhary, a Hindu, was  
the chief General under him. Dood Khan had

posted himself at Patna. The Emperor's Generals besieged it, and Akbar himself also joined the camp, and attacked Hazeepore, because he found that it supplied that city with provisions. Hazeepore was taken, and its defenders were put to death. The Governor also was slain, and his head, together with those of the slaughtered troops, was put into a boat and sent to Daood Khan to terrify him. He did indeed take fright, and getting on board of some swift boats, fled to Bengal. Patna now fell into the hands of the Emperor. He marched down to the pass of Terragully, which the troops of Daood abandoned, as they feared to be treated like the garrison of Hazeepore. Daood, hearing of this new disaster, fled with his troops and his treasure to Orissa, there a very fierce battle was fought between the Moguls of Akbar and the Afghans of Daood. The Moguls were victorious. Daood retired to Cuttack, and seeing no hope of success, begged the mercy of the Emperor. It was granted, and he came into the Mogul camp, and signed and sealed a promise that he would never again oppose Akbar. On these terms he was allowed to keep his estates in Orissa.

Monaim Khan returned with the Emperor's troops to Gour, and determined to make that city his residence. But a pestilence broke out in 1575, from a cause which was not discovered. Thousands died daily, the living, wearied with burying the dead, threw their bodies into the river, and floated

The Governor was carried off by the plague. The city was, at once depopulated, and from that day to this, it has been abandoned. At the time of its destruction it had existed two thousand years. It was the most magnificent city in India, of immense extent, and filled with the noblest buildings. It was the capital of a hundred Kings, the seat of wealth and luxury. In one year it was humbled to the dust, and now it is the abode only of tigers and monkeys. A few of the strongest edifices of stone and marble remain, but all the brick buildings have been taken down, and the materials employed in building Moorsheadabad. It was in the year in which Bengal became again a part of the Empire of Delhi, that its ancient and noble capital became a desert.

On the death of Alonaim Khan, Bengal fell into disorder. Daood Khan broke his oath, took up arms, and drove the Moguls from Bengal. He assembled an army of 50,000 horse, and took post at Rajmahl. The troops of Akbar were soon collected from all parts, and laid siege to it. The Affghans defended themselves with courage, but their best Generals one by one fell, so they lost heart, and fled. Daood himself fell into the hands of the Mogul General, who cut off his head, and sent it to Akbar. On the death of Daood, the line of independent Kings of Bengal became extinct, after having ruled the country for two hundred and

thirty-six years With Daood, the power of the Afghans ended For more than three hundred and fifty years they had been all powerful in Bengal, that is to say, from the first year in which Bukhtiyar Khilji first conquered it till the year in which the Moguls reconquered it In 1576 Bengal and Behar became a part of the Mogul Empire

During the four centuries in which the Afghans held Bengal, the Government is said to have been thus conducted The King or the viceroy chose certain districts for his own domain The other districts and estates which had been taken from the Hindoos, were given to his officers who divided the land among their dependents From the revenue which these officers received, they were obliged to keep up a certain number of troops They were allowed a portion of the rent for their own support, the remainder they remitted to the royal treasury The Hindoo landholders were deprived of their lands, and suffered much poverty and pain, but they were often employed to manage the estates of the Afghans

#### SECTION IV.

After the victory over Daood Khan at Rajmahal, the Emperor's General subdued Behar, and took the strong fort of Rhiotas A force was also sent into Orissa, to seize the property of the late King,

and the Rajah of Cooh Behar was compelled to pay tribute

But great disturbances soon broke out. The Mogul officers had driven out the Afghans, and taken possession of their estates. Akbar wished to introduce a better system of collecting the revenues, he called upon the new Mogul Jageerdars to pay up the balances of the estates, and determined from time to time to change the Zemindars, who were not only Collectors. To this the Moguls would not submit. They shaved their heads, put on mourning, and resolved to defend their newly acquired property. At once, thirty thousand of Akbar's own Mogul cavalry appeared in the field in rebellion against him, and seized on the capital of Bengal. The same cause led the Moguls in Behar to rise in arms and take possession of the country, and thus in 1550 Bengal and Behar were again separated from the Empire. The throne of Akbar was shaken by this revolt. The rebels were his own troops, and of his own tribe, he could not depend on any of his officers. He suspected treachery every where. In this dilemma, he selected a Hindu, the Rajah Toral, to command his army, and sent him with a body of Hindu Rajpoot troops to reconquer the revolted provinces. The Rajah acted with great spirit. He sent Bar with his army, and he sailed on the Hindu Zambardar to raise a rebellion against the rebels, many of whom, finding themselves unable to cope with him, abandoned the

But the Mahomedan officers under the Rajah were ill affected to him, and he found no little difficulty in keeping his army together. The Vizier at Delhi called upon many of them to pay up the balances due from them, and this occasioned great discontent. The Rajah represented this to the Emperor, and he deposed his chief Minister. The affairs of Akbar were at this time brought to so low a state that he was obliged to go to the houses of some of the old officers who had left his service, and to beg them to return to court. Azim Khan was appointed Governor of Behar, and he endeavoured to bring back the rebels by entreaty. Failing of success, he went to Agra to represent the deplorable state of affairs to Akbar. The Emperor felt that the Hindoo and the Mogul commanders could not act together, he therefore removed Rajah Toremul from his office of General, and appointed Azim Khan, Governor of Bengal. At the same time he ordered all the troops which could be spared to join him. The new Soobadar, by sowing jealousies among the rebels, was enabled to reduce them one by one. The capital, Tondah, soon after submitted to him, and by the year 1582 the whole country was subdued and peace restored.

It is supposed that the Rajah Toremul, after being removed from the command of the army, was placed over the treasury. He is often called the Dewan Toremul. It was he who in the year 1582, made a new arrangement of all the zemindars of

Bengal, and drew up a rent roll. The first revenue settlement of Bengal under the Moguls was made by this Hindoo Rajah, and it continued in force for many years. It was called the *Amul Doman Tumna* of all the jayger and khalsa lands of Bengal, and it shewed a revenue from this province alone of one crore and about seven lakhs of Rupees.

Though Bengal had been subdued, it was not tranquil. The Afghans in Orissa repeatedly revolted, and in 1589 Akbar appointed Man Singh, the celebrated Rajpoot, whose sister had been married to Prince Selim, afterwards the Emperor Jehangire, Governor of this Soobah, and also of Behar Having assumed the government, he marched against the Afghans. Kutlu Khan, their Chief, died about this time, they became dispirited and sued for peace, and having promised to strike the coin in the Emperor's name, were allowed to keep their estates. But within two years they again rebelled and seized the temple of Jugunnath. Man Singh lost no time in marching into the province, a battle was fought on the banks of the Sooburekha, the Afghans were totally defeated and again sued for peace. It was granted them on condition that they should give up all their elephants and pay up the revenues. Man Singh, returning from Orissa, made Raymahl his capital. This city had in former times been the residence of Kings and Rulers, but was neglected on the arrival of the Mahomedans and fell into decay. It now rose again in splendour and



celebrity. The rajah built a noble palace and surrounded it with ramparts of brick and stone. The next year the Affghans revolted a third time in Orissa, and brought up an army against Satgong, which was still the great port of Bengal. This wealthy place they plundered, but when the Emperor's troops advanced against them, they made their submissions. In the year 1595, the Rajah of Cooch Behar professed himself the vassal of the Emperor, on which his own relatives rose up against him and confined him in a fort. He sought the aid of Man Sing, who marched an army into the country, and is said to have made it tributary. This was the first time the Moguls entered Cooch Behar. In 1598, Akbar undertook an expedition into the Deccan and ordered Man Sing to attend him. Osman, now the chief of the Orissa Affghans, no sooner heard of this, than he appeared in the field again. He defeated the Emperor's troops, and conquered the greater part of Bengal. Man Sing hastened back, met the enemy at Sherapore, and routed them. Man Sing had now governed Bengal with great justice and prudence for fifteen years, and in 1604 asked leave to resign his post. The next year, his Master, the Great Akbar, died, and Jehangire ascended the throne. Man Sing was at this time the most powerful subject in the Empire. He had in his pay 20,000 of his own brave Rajpoot countrymen who were devoted to his service, and he was considered the head of the Hindoos through-

out the empire. The new Emperor stood in awe of him, though he was his own brother-in-law, and, to prevent danger, removed him from court and sent him into Bengal.

Within eight months he was recalled. Jehangire wanted to destroy the renowned Shore Khan, and Man Sing would not assist him. Kootub ood-deen was therefore appointed Governor of Bengal. The wife of Shere, Muhr-ul Nissa, was the most beautiful woman of that age in India. Shere, to whom she had been betrothed, was a nobleman of high rank, but before her marriage, Jehangire, while Prince, saw her and was smitten with her charms. He applied to his father Akbar to break off the match, that he might espouse her, but the Emperor refused to do an act of injustice even for his own son, and this lovely woman became the wife of Shere. Jehangire made several attempts to take his life, but they were defeated by his singular courage and strength. Shere, finding that he was not safe at the court, retired with his wife to Bengal, and was appointed Chief of Burdwan. Akbar at length died and Jehangire became Lord of India. His passion for this beauty now became more violent than ever, he determined to obtain her at all hazards. Kootub was sent as Boobadar to Bengal to procure the death of Shere. He advanced to Burdwan. Shere came out with two horsemen to receive him. The Governor, after respectfully saluting him, mounted his elephant. A peon, who had

been previously instructed, called out that Shere's horse was in the Governor's way, and struck him. This brought on a scuffle, Shere saw that it was his life they wanted, and he determined to die like a brave man. As his wife was the most beautiful woman, so was he universally considered the bravest man in India. He boldly attacked the elephant, the Soobadar fell from it and was cut in two. Five other nobles advanced to attack him, they all shared the same fate. The rest formed a circle round the hero, they poured their arrows and bullets upon him from a distance, and he fell at length, covered with wounds. His widow bore his death with great fortitude, and soon after became the wife of Jehangire. With him she ruled the empire of India for many years, under the well known title of Noor Jahan.

In 1608 Sheikh Ishaan Khan was appointed Governor of Bengal, and immediately removed the seat of Government to the South, and built the city of Dacca. The cause of this movement, was the distress which the Portuguese parties inflicted on the coasts of Bengal. The Portuguese were the first Europeans who came to India by sea for the purposes of trade. In the year 1496, the Portuguese Admiral Vasco de Gama, for the first time, sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and landed at Calicut, a city on the Western coast of India. The Portuguese finding the trade profitable, sent out ship after ship, and at length obtained land

and built forts. They conquered the island of Ceylon, and established factories in the islands of the Eastern seas. It was not, however, as it appears, till after they had been in India more than fifty years that they came to Bengal. At what period the Portuguese first settled at Hooghly, it is not easy to fix, but as they had two churches there in 1599, one of which was a Cathedral, it is to be supposed that they had then been settled for some time. Their settlement was strongly fortified, the walls were mounted with cannon, served by a large body of European artillerymen. Their power and their trade gave them much consideration in the country. At that time the royal port of Satgong was in its glory, it was the great emporium of the trade of Bengal. The Portuguese naturally settled near it, at a place which was called Golin, or Gola,—the warehouse. This place increased by the trade of the foreigners, and was afterwards called Hooghly.

The Portuguese drew off a considerable portion of the trade from Satgong, and it began rapidly to decline. Another cause of the decay of this place, may be the following. From the most ancient times, the main branch of the Bhagurutee had flowed under the walls of this city down by Omptah and Tumulook into the ocean. It is supposed that a little before this period, the river at Satgong began to dry up, and the chief stream to run by Hooghly, in the channel it now occupies. There

was long a tradition among the Dutch at Chusan-  
 ri that the river formerly flowed behind it, and  
 not in its front, as it presents. Whichever was the  
 case, however, it is certain that Satyong began  
 to decay, and finally to rise on its ruins.  
 A number of Portuguese adventurers, about the  
 year 1600, also settled on the coast of Chiatyong  
 and Arracan, and entered into the service of the  
 native Prince. They were well acquainted with  
 maritime affairs, and exceedingly brave, and hence  
 became very troublesome neighbours. In 1607, the  
 King of Arracan determined to root them out of  
 his dominions, and put many to death, the rest es-  
 caped in nine or ten small vessels to the island of  
 Sundap, and turned pirates. The Mogul Governor  
 sent upon all the Portuguese within his reach,  
 and having put them to death, went in search of  
 the pirates. They were anchored off Dulhin Sha-  
 bazore. A naval battle ensued. The Moguls  
 were entirely defeated. The Portuguese returned  
 in triumph to Sundap and chose Gonzales for  
 their Captain. He attacked and beat the Mogul  
 troops and in revenge put a thousand of them to  
 death. Gonzales suddenly became a mighty Prince  
 He had a thousand European and two thousand  
 native troops under him, besides two hundred ca-  
 nary and eighty ships. He took possession of all  
 the islands at the mouth of the Padma, the chiefs  
 around sought his friendship. The King of Arra-  
 can made a league with him in 1610, and they

agreed to invade Bengal together by land and by water. Their united forces attacked and took Bhooloa and Luckpore, but a strong Mogul army marched against them, and totally defeated the Arracan troops. The Portuguese had neglected to guard the coast with their gun boats, and were pursued to Chittagong. It was in consequence of these troubles that the Soobadar of Bengal removed the seat of Government to Dacca, that he might be ready to repel the invaders. By the defeat of the Arracanes and the vigilance of the Soobadar, peace was restored to the Eastern provinces, but a disturbance immediately broke out in the West. The ever turbulent Affghans in Orissa, under Osman the son of their former Chief, determined to invade Bengal again. The Soobadar at first sent an Envoy to reason with them. He represented that Bengal had been governed by the Affghans for nearly four hundred years, that Providence had now given it to the Mogul, and that if they renewed the war, they would bring ruin on themselves. The haughty Osman seeing 20,000 Affghans under his standard, determined on war. The Moguls advanced as far as the banks of the Sooburekha, where a battle was fought. It was very obstinately disputed, but at length the Affghans were totally overthrown. This happened in the year 1611, and it may be considered as their last effort to recover Bengal. The Affghans, after this, settled peaceably in the principal vil-

lages of the district, and their descendants, who are still numerous, pass under the name of Patans

Immediately after the Portuguese and Arracanes had been defeated by the Soobadar, Gonzales invited the Captains of the Arracan vessels to his own ship and put them to death. He then seized the whole of their fleet, sailed down the coast, plundering as he went, and endeavoured to take the town of Arracan, but was defeated. The King of Arracan, enraged at his perfidy, took the nephew of Gonzales, who was with him as a hostage, and impaled him on a high mountain in sight of the Portuguese. Gonzales now wrote to the Governor of Portuguese India, who resided at Goa, and told him that it would be easy to conquer Arracan. He immediately fitted out a large fleet, and sent it to the Arracan coast. The commander, without waiting for Gonzales, sailed up the river, which put the Arracanes on their guard. Gonzales afterwards joined him and they unitedly attacked the city of Arracan, but were repulsed. The Portuguese Admiral and two hundred of his men were killed, and the rest retreated. This defeat ruined Gonzales, his credit was broken, he returned to Sundeep, but his followers deserted him. The Rajah of Arracan pursued him with a powerful fleet and army, took Sundeep and all the neighbouring coasts, ravaged the country far and near, burnt the towns and villages, and carried the inhabitants into slavery. It is supposed with good reason, that it was this and

succeeding invasions of the Aryans which created the Sooderbans. That region was formerly the residence of a wealthy and industrious people. The coins that are dug up, and the remains of numerous large buildings and noble ponds which are found in that desert, show that it was formerly inhabited. But no sooner was it depopulated, than it became a jungle, when the inhabitants deserted it, it became the refuge of wild beasts.

In 1618, Ibrahim Khan, who was married to a sister of the Empress Noor Jehan, was appointed Governor of Bengal. It was during his viceroyalty that the English first began to trade in these provinces.

In the year 1600, Elizabeth, the Queen of England, granted a charter to a company of merchants in London to enable them to trade to the East. This was the origin of the East India Company; who now govern the empire of India. Their attention was at first drawn to Surat, where they established a factory. From Surat, they proceeded, for the purposes of trade, to Agra, then the residence of the Emperor, and hearing that Behar possessed many valuable articles of commerce, they sent two factors to Patna, in the year 1620. The goods which they purchased were sent up the stream to Agra, and from thence transported by land to Surat, and shipped to England. But the expense of carriage was found to be so great, that this scheme of trade was soon abandoned.

During the first five years of Ibrahim's rule,



Bengal enjoyed peace and prosperity. The Assamese had been repelled, and the Arakanese driven off. The Affghans in Orissa had been completely subdued. Trade began to flourish anew, the delicatements of Dacca and the silks of Malda were brought to perfection. Just at this juncture, an event happened which again plunged this unfortunate country into misery. Shah Jehan, the third son of the Emperor Shingir, had been sent to quell an insurrection in the Deccan, in which he was successful. Jehangir was then in his dotage, and his wife, the renowned Noor Jehan, was anxious that the Emperor's fourth son, who had married her daughter by her former husband Shere, the Affghani, should succeed to the throne. She exerted herself to ruin the prospects of Shah Jehan. That Prince felt that while his brothers lived, he could not obtain the empire but by his own efforts, and determined to exert himself to the utmost. The Persians suddenly invaded the empire, and he was ordered to march from the Deccan against them. Instead of obeying the orders, he broke out into open rebellion, and marching towards Delhi, made some insolent demands of his father. Jehangir marched out to meet him, a battle ensued, in which Shah Jehan was defeated and obliged to fly back to the Deccan. His elder brother pursued him to the Nerbudda, when he suddenly turned off and marching into Bengal, through Orissa, arrived at Burdwan.

Shah Jehan had no sooner reached Burdwan, than he was waited on by the Portuguese Governor of Hooghly, Michael Rodrigues. As the Prince wanted the assistance of his artillery, he treated him with great attention. But the Governor, having no idea that Shah Jehan would be able to maintain his ground, refused any assistance. The Prince treasured this up in his mind, and when he had ascended the throne of Delhi, made that city feel his vengeance. Shah Jehan now overran Bengal, and advanced to Raymah Ibrahim Khan, the Soobadar, followed him, and a severe engagement was fought in which Ibrahim was defeated and slain. The victor then proceeded to Dacca, took forty lakhs of Rupees from the treasury, and after regulating the affairs of the country, march ed towards Delhi. He successfully took Monghyr, Patna, and Rhohtas, to which latter place he sent his family for security. He then proceeded to Benares, and hearing that the imperial army was approaching to give him battle, encamped his troops on the banks of the Ganges. The battle which ensued was very bloody. Shah Jehan was completely defeated, and pursued from place to place, till he fled back into the Deccan by the same route by which he had entered Bengal. There he wrote a penitential letter to his father, and was forgiven. No trace remained of his having been in possession of Bengal for two years.

After the suppression of Shah Jehan's rebellion,

Khanzad Khan was appointed Soobadar, but the only act of his brief rule that is worthy of record, is that he sent twenty-two lakhs of Rupees of tribute to Delhi. This was the only sum which had been sent for many years. The expenses occasioned by the irruption of the Arracanese and Portuguese, and by the revolt of the Prince, had swallowed up all the revenue. So unprofitable indeed had Bengal become, that in 1627 Fedai Khan was sent as Soobadar because he promised to remit annually, the sum of five lakhs of Rupees in money to the Emperor and the same sum to the Empress

## SECTION V

Early in 1628, Jehangire died and Shah Jehan became Emperor. He immediately sent Cossim Khan as his Viceroy into Bengal. Within a year or two after his appointment, he wrote to the Emperor to say that some European idolaters, meaning the Portuguese, who had been allowed to establish themselves for the purposes of trade at Hooghly, had fortified themselves and become insolent. He stated that they levied tolls on the boats which passed their factory, and committed piracy at the mouths of the rivers, that they had drawn off all the trade from Satgong, and impeded him in the discharge of his duties. The Emperor remembred the refusal of Michael Rodrigues to furnish him with artillery at Burdwan, and ordered the Soobadar to expel the Portuguese from his dominions.

Cossim Khan began his preparations for attacking the Portuguese in 1631, but with such secrecy that they had no idea of his designs. He assembled three armies in different parts of the country, and threw a bridge of boats across the river at Sherepore, probably Serampore. In 1632, the imperial armies invested the city of Hoogly in all direction, the siege lasted three months. The Portuguese offered to pay a tribute of a lakh of Rupees, but it was rejected. As they expected succours from Goa, they made a vigorous defence. The Moguls were greatly annoyed with their musketry, and, finding that they could not storm the place, determined to undermine it. When the mine was ready, it was fired, and blew up the bastion with all who were on it. A large breach was thus made, and the Moguls rushed in and slaughtered the Portuguese without mercy. Many escaped to the ships, and the largest vessel is said to have received two thousand refugees. She was attacked by the Mahomedans, and the Captain, rather than yield, set fire to the magazine, and blew her up. Many other ships were also set on fire, some by their own officers, others by the enemy, and these, floating down the river, burnt the bridge. Of more than three hundred vessels, large and small, which were anchored off the town, only three escaped. The victors sacked the place, and destroyed all the churches and images. One thousand Portuguese fell in the siege, and four thousand four hundred men, wo-

men and children became captives. The priests were despatched to the court, and all the most beautiful women to the seraglio of Shah Jehan, at Delhi. Hoogly having thus fallen into the hands of the Moguls, was made the royal port of Bengal. All the public offices and records were removed from Satgong, and that place, after fifteen hundred years of prosperity, sunk down to the condition of a miserable village. A Fouzdar, or military commander, was appointed to Hoogly, and as he had charge also of the police, the word *fouzdaree*, came gradually to be applied to all courts, in which questions of police were heard. The Soobadar, Cossim Khan, died in 1632.

Two years after the fall of Hoogly, the English obtained an imperial firman to trade to Bengal by sea. It was acquired through the generosity of Mr Boughton. In 1634, while the Emperor, Shah Jehan, was encamped in the Deccan, one of his daughters was severely burnt, by her clothes taking fire. An express was sent to the English factory at Surat, to desire the assistance of an English surgeon. Mr Boughton, the surgeon of one of the Company's ships, was sent, and he was so happy as to effect a complete cure. The grateful Emperor desired him only to name his reward, and he should receive it. Instead of asking any thing for himself, he begged that the English nation might have permission to trade in Bengal, free of duty, and to establish factories in that country.

which was immediately granted But as the Emperor had seen in the case of the Portuguese, how dangerous it was to allow European to settle within the country, he fixed upon Pipy, near Balasore, for the English factory There, in the year 1634, the English who now govern the vast empire of India, anchored their first ship Mr Boughton, who had come across the country with the firman, purchased a cargo without difficulty Four years after the establishment of the English at Pipy, the Dutch also obtained permission to establish their first factory there

In 1638, Islam Khan Alushmedy, an old and ex-

perienced officer, succeeded to the vice royalty of Bengal. In the first year of his government, Alukut Roy, who held Chittagong for the Rajah of Arracan, rebelled against his Master, and delivered it up to the Moguls This port originally belonged to the independent kingdom of Tipperah, it was next conquered by the Mahomedans, but in the disputes which arose between the Afghans and the Moguls, it fell into the hands of the King of Arracan It was probably called Islamabad after the Governor who in this year acquired possession of it Meanwhile, the Rajah of Assam embarked five hundred boats on the Brumhapooter, and came down like a torrent on Bengal, plundering every town and village in his way The Sadadar went out to meet him with his war boats armed with cannon The Assamese could not with-

stand him. Their fleet was soon in flames, of the crew, a part fled to the shore, but four thousand were put to death. Islam Khan pursued them into their own country, and took fifteen forts and much spoil. It was also under his vice royalty, which lasted but one year, that Cooch Behar was invaded by the Mahomedans.

In the year 1639, Sultan Soogah, the second son of the Emperor Shah Jehan, was appointed to govern Bengal, at the age of twenty-four years, and he ruled it with great wisdom for nearly twenty years. Behar, by way of precaution, was made a separate government. The first step of Soogah was to remove the capital from Dacca to Rajmahal, which he adorned with splendid buildings. The fortifications erected by Alan Sing were also increased, but the following year, the best part of the city was destroyed by a conflagration. At the same time, the current of the Ganges took a new direction. It formerly flowed under the walls of Gour, but in the present year it came with fury against Rajmahal, and swept away many of its buildings. Gour, which had been formerly forsaken by the court, thus lost its communication with the river, and became a complete desert. Shah Soogah made great efforts to repair the damages which had been done by the fire and the river to the city of Rajmahal, and it arose more magnificent than ever.

After Soogah's arrival at Rajmahal, Mr. Broughton went to pay his respects to him. It happened that

one of the ladies in the seraglio was afflicted with a severe disease. The fame of Mr Boughton had spread widely through India, and he was solicited to prescribe for her. In this case also he was successful. He became a great favourite at the court, and the Viceroy, as a token of gratitude, gave the English, through him, permission to establish factories at Balasore and Hooghly as well as at Piply. After Soojah had governed Bengal with great credit for eight years, he was recalled through the jealousies and fears of his father, and made Governor of Cabul. Within two years, however, he was restored to the Government of Bengal, and ruled it for nine years, during which period the country enjoyed unusual prosperity. Its manufactures were improved, and its commerce extended. The trade of the Europeans brought a large influx of gold and silver. The court of Raymahal vied with that of Delhi in magnificence. Justice was rigorously executed, and the Soobadgar won the affections of the people by his affability and moderation. Nine such years of peace and prosperity, the country had not experienced for centuries. But this scene of joy was now to be exchanged for one of war and misery. Before we enter on this period of trouble, however, it is proper to mention, that a new rent roll of the revenues of the country was drawn up by Shah Soojah, about the year 1657. We have already stated that the first assessment, under the Mogul dynasty, was made in 1582, by



Dewan Toremul, and that it amounted to one crore and seven lakhs of Rupees. But great additions were made to the revenue in succeeding years, so that the new rent roll of Shah Sojah amounted to a crore and thirty-one lakhs of Rupees. The increase during these seventy-five years was, therefore, about twenty-four lakhs of Rupees. Of this sum, fourteen lakhs arose from the conquests which had been made in Orissa, Cooch Behar and Tipperah, and from the profits of the mint. About ten lakhs of Rupees were gained by an increased assessment of the old lands, of which the rent had been fixed by Toremul. Of this revenue of one crore and thirty-one lakhs of Rupees, about forty-four lakhs were found to be sufficient for all the expenses of government, civil, military and naval. The clear yearly sum realized from Bengal was, therefore, eighty-seven lakhs of Rupees. When it is remembered that only thirty years before this time, Redai Khan, was made Soobadar, because he engaged to send ten lakhs of Rupees of tribute to Delhi, it will be seen that there must have been a very great improvement in the condition of the country. This improvement arose partly from the good government of the Soobadar, but more particularly from the trade of the English and the Dutch.

In 1657 Shah Jehan, the Emperor of Delhi, the father of Shah Sojah, fell dangerously ill, and each of his four sons began to aspire to the throne. Sojah was convinced that if his eldest brother, Dara,

obtained the empire, he himself would be either imprisoned or put to death, he determined, therefore, to make an effort to obtain the throne himself. His resources were great, his troops numerous and valiant, his treasury was full, and he enjoyed the affections of his people. He gave out that his father was dead, and though he received letters to the contrary, he maintained that they were forged by his brother. He marched with his army to Benares. Dara despatched his son Soliman with the Rajpoot General Jyasing to encounter him. Before Jyasing's departure, the Emperor called him in private, and requested that he would avoid a battle and reconcile the brothers. While Soogah was employed in constructing a bridge to cross the river near Benares, his brother's troops arrived on the opposite shore. Jyasing immediately began to treat with him, and to shew the folly of his endeavouring to contend with his father and brother. Soogah was so convinced by his reasoning that he promised to return quietly to Bengal, but the young Soliman was anxious for a battle. Unknown to Jyasing, he crossed his army during the night by a ford which he had discovered, and fell upon Soogah, who was awaked by the clashing of armour. He instantly mounted his elephant, but his troops were struck with a panic and fled. After many efforts to rally them, Soogah was himself obliged to fly, first to Patna, and from thence to Monghyr. Soliman hastened to besiege this place, but his father was obliged

to recall him with his army to fight his two Uncles, Morad and Aurungzebe. Dara was defeated, the old Emperor, Shah Jehan, was thrown into confinement, and Aurungzebe mounted the throne of Delhi.

Shah Soogah was thunderstruck when he heard that Aurungzebe had obtained possession of the empire, for he knew him to be implacable. Yet he sent to offer his congratulations on the occasion, and asked to be confirmed in the government of Bengal. His brother replied, that he was only regent for his father, and that no new appointment was necessary for Shah Soogah. The Prince, however, was not to be deceived by his brother's artices, he knew well that there could be no safety for him while Aurungzebe was Emperor. He determined therefore to make another struggle for the imperial throne, and in 1659 assembled a large army and marched into Hindoostan. The army of Soogah met that of the Emperor at Kudgwa. A large body of Aurungzebe's troops deserted to his brother the night before the battle, and if Soogah had been any thing of a General, the victory would have been his own. On the following day, when the armies joined battle, his troops were at first victorious, and Soogah's elephant was brought in immediate contact with that of Aurungzebe. Here a furious engagement ensued. The Emperor's elephant was severely wounded, and he was on the point of quitting it, when Meer Joomla, his General, exclaimed, 'Au-

rungebe, you descend from the throne' The Emperor immediately ordered the legs of the restive animal to be tied, to prevent its moving, and fought on Soojah's troops began to give way His elephant became untractable, and in an evil hour, he descended from it, and mounted his horse. His soldiers, having lost sight of their master, now fled in all directions, and Soojah returned without attendants to Patna, and from thence proceeded to Monghyr Aurungzebe sent his own son, Mahomed, with his General, Meer Doolah, to pursue him, with orders not to desist till he was taken They laid siege to Monghyr Soojah's troops had by this time rejoined him, and he strengthened the fortifications of that town, so that the siege was protracted. But Meer Doolah having heard that there was another way into Bengal by the mountains of Sheergotty, sent an army in that direction, which suddenly burst upon the plains

As soon as Soojah heard of this circumstance, he abandoned his fortifications and retreated to Rajmahal, where he defended himself for six days But at length, taking advantage of a dark and stormy night, he embarked his army on his boats, crossed the river and moved to Tondah That same night the rains set in, and Meer Doolah found it necessary to encamp his army for the season in the vicinity of Rajmahal. During this time Soojah augmented his troops, took some European arti-

Jerymen into his pay, and began to entertain hopes of success. Mahomed, the son of the Emperor, who had been smitten with the charms of Soogah's daughter, suddenly left his own army and joined him. Meer Joomla was at a distance when he heard of this event, and he fancied that his whole army had gone over with the Prince. He returned in haste, and found the camp in confusion, some preparing to desert to the enemy, others engaged in plunder. His presence restored order. He represented to the troops the folly of the young Prince, who had thus brought on himself his father's wrath. He promised to march against him as soon as the rains had subsided, and ordered boats to be assembled. Soogah was overjoyed at the arrival of Mahomed. The nuptials of that Prince were celebrated with splendor, and the court was filled with rejoicings. But Meer Joomla had now, through the decrease of the river, discovered a ford at Sooty, where he crossed his army over and approached Tondah. Soogah unwisely determined to come out and risk a battle. He was completely defeated. His affairs were now entirely ruined, he and his son-in-law fled to Dacca, and Tondah opened its gates to the victor Meer Joomla. He set himself first to settle the affairs of the country, and then marched to Dacca, where Soogah could scarcely muster 1500 men. He was now completely disgusted with the world, and determined to proceed to Mecca, and to pass the rest of his life in devo-

tions at that shrine Having placed his family and  
 effects on elephants, he marched through the coun-  
 try of Tipperah with only forty domestics, and ar-  
 rived at Chittagong There he found that there was  
 no vessel bound to Mecca, and that the state of the  
 weather would not allow any vessel to put to sea )  
 His enemies were now pressing upon him, and he  
 had but one resource left, that of seeking a refuge  
 in Arracan He sent forward an Envoy to announce  
 his approach, and the Rajah sent him assurances of  
 friendship He and his family were received and  
 comfortably lodged in the town of Arracan, and the  
 Arracanes at first behaved to him with great kind-  
 ness But the Rajah soon after began to treat him  
 coldly, and at length sent to demand his daughter  
 in marriage Soogah was inflamed at the request,  
 and sent a haughty reply, to the effect that he  
 would not disgrace the blood of Timur by a marri-  
 age with an infidel The Rajah now sent his troops  
 to attack the unfortunate Prince, who defended  
 himself to the last with great bravery After the  
 greater part of his followers had been slaughtered,  
 Soogah himself was stunned with a huge stone,  
 which was rolled down on him He was instant-  
 ly seized, disarmed and bound, and then placed in  
 a little canoe, which was rowed into the middle of  
 the stream There the men pulled out the plugs, and  
 the boat and Soogah sunk together, the men  
 were taken up by another vessel The Rajah then  
 visited the wife of Soogah, the beautiful Pearee

Banoo, but she plunged a dagger into her bosom to prevent her dishonour, and expired. Two of her daughters fell also by their own hands, the youngest was forcibly married to the Rajah, but perished away and died, his two sons were drowned. Thus perished the unfortunate Soogah, too and branch, a Prince more beloved in Bengal than any Mahomedan Ruler had ever been. When the old Emperor, his father, then in confinement, heard of the catastrophe, he exclaimed, could not the cursed infidel have left one son of Soogah to revenge the wrongs of his grandfather?

Having thus destroyed Shah Soogah, Meer Joomla became Soobadar of Bengal. During the disorders we have described, several of the neighbouring Kings began to rebel, and among others, the Rajah of Cooch Behar. He seized on part of Assam, and sent an army down the Bruhhapooter, and plundered Dacca. In 1661 Meer Joomla marched into his country to revenge these injuries. The Rajah was obliged to seek refuge in the woods, the capital was taken and the name changed to Alumgeer-nugur: but the change did not last. Meer Joomla was a bigotted Mussulman and with his own battle-axe broke the celebrated image of Narayan, and ascending the roof of its temple, called the Mahomedans to pray to it. The individual, whom he appointed to guard it, was directed to kill them. In other respects

with justice, and punished his own troops when they engaged in plunder. Thus he endeavoured to reconcile the people to his rule, and even persuaded the son of the Rajah, Vishnoo Narayan, to become a Moosulman. He made Cooh Behar, the mountainous district excepted, a province of Bengal. He fixed the tribute at ten lakhs of Rupees, and leaving 1400 horse and 2000 musqueteers to guard it, proceeded to the conquest of Assam. Having placed his stores and provisions on his boats to move up the Bruhiapooter, he crossed that river at Rungamuty, and, forming a road as he went, marched his army by land. The remains of this road still exist. The watch was tedious, and a day's journey often did not exceed one or two miles. The army was annoyed in its progress by the Assamese, and the fatigue of dragging the boats very affected the troops. But as Meer Doola shared every privation with them, and often walked on foot the whole day, there was no murmuring in his camp. The Mogul army at length reached Semlaye, a fort built on a hill, garrisoned by 20,000 men, and defended by a fleet of war boats. The Assamese abandoned it during the night. The Soobadar then advanced to Gherong the capital, which easily fell into his hands. The Rajah fled into the mountains, and many of the Chiefs swore allegiance to the Moguls. Meer Doola therefore wrote to the Emperor, boasting that he had opened the road to China, and that he would the next



year, plant the Mahomedan flag on the walls of Pekin. The Emperor, delighted with the idea of making his conquests equal with those of Jenghis Khan, conferred new titles on his victorious General.

But a sad change was now at hand. The rains of 1662 set in with great violence. The whole valley of the Brumhapooter became one sheet of water. As there was no forage for the horses, the cavalry became useless. The Rajah boldly issued from his place of concealment in the mountains, and out of the provisions of the Moguls. A pestilence also broke out in their camp, which carried off many.

Whether they advanced or remained, they were equally exposed to death. In this miserable state they passed the rains; but no sooner was the country dry than they took courage, and bravely repelled the enemy. The Rajah sent to solicit peace, which Meer Joomla was happy to grant, for he himself was attacked by disease and his troops were numerous. The Assamese were obliged to give twenty thousand tolas of gold, a hundred thousand of silver, and forty elephants, and the Rajah yielded up his daughter to be married to one of the Mahomedan Princes, and agreed to pay an annual tribute. According to Hindoo annals, however, Meer Joomla's army was entirely defeated, and he was obliged to give up the whole of Curuar Kamroop to the Assamese.

Meanwhile the Governor, whom the Soobadar had

left in charge of Cooch Behar, oppressed the people to such a degree, that they invited their old Rajah to return and take on himself the government. He agreed to their proposal, and sent a polite message to the Governor requesting him to retire peacefully, which he naturally refused to do. The Rajah and his people, therefore, fell on the Moguls and obliged them to fly. They retired to Gowahaty, to await the return of Meer Joomla. When he returned from Ghergong to that place his army was so reduced by disease, that not one man in ten was fit for duty. He, however, selected the most vigorous soldiers and officers, and sent them into Cooch Behar, while he returned with the rest of the army to Dacca, where he died. Meer Joomla was a great and able man. He reaped his own fortunes. His administration was, generally speaking, just, and agreeable to the people. Even the Europeans, with whom he was sometimes engaged in disputes, regretted his loss, and the Emperor, who owed to him perhaps the crown, was deeply affected on hearing of his death.

## SECTION VI

On the death of Meer Joomla, Aurungzebe appointed Shasta Khan, Governor of Bengal. His administration was long, for, with the exception of three years, in which two other Soobadars supplied his place, he ruled Bengal from 1662 to 1689. This was also an important epoch, on account

of the disputes between the Mogul Government and the foreign merchants, more especially the English, who, at the close of his reign, first settled on the spot where Calcutta now stands Shais-ta Khan was the Nephew of the celebrated Noor Jehan

About the time of his accession to the government, in the beginning of 1663, the East India Company placed their factories in Bengal under the control of Madras, and directed that out factories should be established at Balasore and Cosimbazar The date of the first factory of Cosimbazar was 1663 It appears that the gentleman who was sent to manage it, had applied himself to the languages of the country His name was Marshall, and in 1674 he translated from the Sungskrit a part of the Shree Bhagvat He was, probably, the first Englishman who ever made himself master of that classical language

The attention of Shais-ta Khan was first drawn to Arracan The King of that country, finding that the murder of Sultan Soogah had not provoked the Moguls, and hearing of Meer Joomla's misfortunes in Assam, became bold He took into his service all the vagabond Europeans he could pick up, and, with their assistance, seized the island at the mouth of the Padma, and plundered up to the gates of Dacca The inhabitants of that city now began to tremble at the name of the Mugs The country of Arracan, and the province of Chittagong is thus

described by Bernier, a European, who lived at this time in India. All the vagabond Portuguese from Goa, Cochim, Malacca and other places, sought refuge at Arracan. The King of Arracan kept them as a guard to protect himself from the Moguls. He placed them at Chittagong, and gave them lands, and encouraged them to wander about and plunder Bengal. Thus they were not only pirates at sea, but they sailed forty or fifty miles up the rivers, plundered and burnt the villages, and carried away the people for slaves. The aged they released on receiving a ransom, the young they took into their fleet, made them rowers, and baptizing them, made them such Christians as they themselves were. And they afterwards boasted that they made as many converts in one year as the Missionaries did in ten.

Shahista Khan was a man of talent and vigor. He lost no time in collecting a large fleet, and an army of 43,000 men, with which he proceeded against the Arracanese. His fleet drove them from the islands, and even Sandeep, though well defended, at length fell into his hands. He then invited the Portuguese who defended Chittagong to leave the service of Arracan, and submit to the Moguls, and threatened to root them out of India if they refused. They had not forgotten what their nation had suffered at Hooghly, and they gladly agreed to the Soobadar's terms. The able bodied were received into his army, the rest, with the women

and children, were settled at a place twelve miles below Dacca, called Feringy bazar, which still exists Shasta Khan advanced with the land army to the banks of the Phenny, which was formerly considered the limit of Bengal in that direction. The Arracane army was drawn up at the stream, but when they saw a large body of Mogul cavalry, they made haste to retreat. The fleet at the same time engaged the Arracane vessels, which amounted to three hundred, and gained a victory. Chittagong was immediately besieged. Though it was strongly fortified, yet when its defenders saw that their fleet was dispersed, they lost courage, and abandoned the city. The Moguls pursued them, and capturing two thousand, made slaves of them. It is said that more than twelve hundred pieces of cannon, great and small, were found in the fort, but the wealth, which the Moguls expected, was not discovered. Thus were the town and district of Chittagong finally lost to the Arracane in 1666, and annexed to the Soobah of Bengal.

Shasta Khan governed the province with great success, till the year 1677, when he was appointed Governor of Agra. During the first period of his government, European commerce made great progress in Bengal. Though the Europeans accused him of not being friendly to them, there seems little reason for the charge. Though the jealousy of the Mogul government, the English had not been allowed to approach Hooghly with their ships. They were

constrained to anchor them farther down, near the mouth of the river, and to bring up and send down all their cargoes in sloops. This being found to be very inconvenient, they petitioned Shasta Khan for permission to proceed in their ships at once to their factory, and he granted it. In 1668, therefore, the Court of Directors ordered a number of Pilots to be retained for this object, and this was the origin of the present Pilot establishment. In 1664, the French, under the direction of their able Minister, Colbert, formed an East India Company, and in 1672 a French fleet sailed up the Hooghly. It is at this date that we are to fix the settlement of Chandernagore. Three years after, namely, in 1675, the Dutch, who had hitherto been confined to Balasore, were allowed to establish a factory at Hooghly. But as the river soon after made encroachments upon it, they obtained a grant of the village of Chinsurah, about two miles from Hooghly. In the year 1676 the Danes came into Bengal and obtained permission to trade. Their chief factory appears to have been fixed at Balasore, though it is probable that they had liberty to trade also to Hooghly. Thus during the reign of Shasta Khan, we find that the trade of the Europeans increased and flourished more than at any preceding period. He was not only friendly to the Europeans while he ruled Bengal, but he did not forget their interests when he was removed. The English had hitherto been obliged to take out a fresh Firman

whenever a new Viceroy was appointed. This was no small grievance, for on every such occasion they were obliged to pay a large douceur to the Mogul officers. When Shasta Khan left Bengal, the Chief of the English factory sent an Envoy with him to the Emperor, to solicit a perpetual Firman, or order for trade. It was obtained, but not without difficulty, and chiefly through Shasta Khan. To shew how highly they valued this order, the English fired a salute of three hundred guns when it arrived.

In 1678 Aurungzebe appointed his third son, Alahomed Azim, Soobadar of Bengal. The Assamese about this time began anew to disturb the provinces on the Eastern frontier. The new Governor was determined to march against them, and requested the English, and the Dutch to furnish him with some artillerymen. They desired to be excused, but offered him, instead of the men, a considerable sum of money, which was accepted. As the Soobadar advanced into Assam, the troops of the Rajah retreated before him. Hence he fancied that the country was fully conquered, and asked permission of his father to proceed against the Arracanese. But Aurungzebe had no time for a new war. Owing to his persecution of the Hindoos, he was now involved in a war with the Chiefs of Raypootana, and with the Mahratta Chief, Sevagee. He, therefore, requested his son to join him without delay, and Alahomed Azim travelled from Dacca to Benares in twenty-

five days, which in that age was considered a remarkably quick journey

Shasta Khan was re-appointed Governor of Bengal in 1679 His orders from Aurungzebe were to persecute the Hindoos, and, though himself of a very mild disposition, he was obliged to carry them into execution On his arrival, he enforced the poll-tax on all who professed the Hindoo religion. At Hooghly his officers demanded the same payment from the Europeans, but the Dutch and English resisted it, and got off by a present of Persian horses for the Nabob's own use At the same time many Hindoo temples were destroyed, and Roy Mulik Chand, a Hindoo of the first consideration, was thrown into irons, to extort money from him These transactions made the government of Aurungzebe and of his deputy hateful

The commerce of the Company in Bengal had now become very important A Firman had been obtained from the Emperor, granting them perpetual liberty of trade, and the Court of Directors determined to make Bengal independent of Madras In 1681, they erected it into an independent factory Mr Hodges was appointed the first Chief, and a guard, consisting of a corporal and twenty European soldiers, was sent with him This was the first rudiment of the British Army in India, which was afterwards increased to two hundred thousand men Before this time the ships for Bengal had always called at Madras to receive their



orders, they now sailed directly up the Ganges, and one of the very first was armed with thirty guns

The Company had been greatly annoyed by the intrusion of private merchants, called Interlopers. By the terms of the Charter which had been granted by the King of England to the Company, no persons were at liberty to trade to the East but their Agents. But as the traffic was gainful, other merchants were constantly aiming to evade the orders, and they traded to India in spite of the Company. Many efforts were made to put them down, but without effect. The Court of Directors found at length, that the only mode of preventing their trading in Bengal, was to prevent their entering the river. The Chief at Hooghly was desired, therefore, to ask the Nabob's permission to erect a fortification at the mouth of the river, but Shasta Khan perceived that this would give the English the command of the whole river, and he refused their request. There had been about this time several disturbances in Behar, and the Company's Agent at Patna was suspected of having abetted them. The mind of the Nabob was thus alienated from the English, and he ordered that all their goods should pay three and a half per cent duty, instead of the annual sum of 3,000 Rupees, which the Emperor had fixed. When the ill-will of the Nabob became known, his servants set themselves to annoy the English. The Fouzdar

at Cossimbazar, without giving any consideration to the Nabob, to permit a lakh of their Agent, Mr Job Charnock, to settle a lakh and a half of Rupees which the pikars or weavers owed the Company, and to pay them forty-three thousand Rupees more. He refused to do so, complaints were made to the Nabob, and bribes were given to his servant, but without success. The Nabob represented the affair to the Emperor in such a light as greatly to inflame him against the English. The whole of their trade was thus thrown into confusion, and the ships returned with scarcely half their cargoes. The Dutch took advantage of these disputes to push their own traffic. It was at this period that they began to fortify their settlement at Chinsurah. The fort was finished in 1687, and consisted of four bastions, sufficiently strong to defend the place from any attack of the Native powers, and was called Fort Gustavus. The Dutch government at this place was fully consolidated, while the English were uncertain whether they should be able to remain at all in Bengal. Subordinate to Chinsurah, the Dutch had two stations down the river, the one at Burunugur, the other at Ruliah, at which latter place their ships were usually left at anchor. The English now perceived that they must either give up the trade or resort to force. They determined upon the latter. James the II, who gave them permission to make war upon the Nabob of Ben-

gal, and his Master, the Emperor Aungmye. A fleet of ten ships was sent out under Admiral Nicholson, on board of which were six hundred troops. He was ordered to embark all the Company's servants and property, to proceed to Chittagong, and to capture and fortify that place. For this purpose two hundred guns were sent with him. He was also ordered to make an alliance with the King of Arracan, the perpetual enemy of the Moguls, to conciliate the Hindoo Zemindars; to collect rents, and to establish a mint, in short, to found an empire.

But all these projects were defeated. The time for the English to rule Hindoostan had not arrived, and every thing conspired to defeat their views. A storm at sea dispersed their fleet, and some of their ships were detained by contrary winds, a number, however, reached the Ganges and sailed up to Hooghly. A little before this time, the Chief at Madras had sent four hundred soldiers thither. These preparations for war by sea and land alarmed the Nabob. He was anxious to make up his differences with the English. He offered to settle the claims they made by arbitration, but they demanded the enormous sum of sixty lakhs of Rupees. While these negotiations were going forward, an accident occurred, which gave a fatal turn to their affairs.

On the 28th October, 1686, three English soldiers quarrelled in the market of Hooghly with some

of the Nabob's troops, and were severely beaten. A company of soldiers was sent to assist them, and then a second company, and finally, all the English troops were engaged. The Nabob's soldiers, who were encamped without the town, were called in and a general battle ensued. Sixty of the Mogul troops were killed and a number wounded. During the conflict, Admiral Nicholson began to fire from his ships on the town. Five hundred houses were destroyed, and among the rest, the Company's godown, in which property of the value of thirty lakhs of Rupees was lost. The Rozdar, alarmed at these events, begged that hostilities might cease, to which the English agreed, on his assisting to convey their salt-petre on board their ships. Not only was this done, but he also engaged to allow their trade to continue, till orders could be received from the Emperor. As soon as the Nabob heard of these circumstances, he directed all the out-factories at Patna, Maida, Dacca, and Cossimbazar to be seized, and sent both infantry and cavalry to Hooghly to expel the English from the country.

The Chief at Hooghly not thinking himself safe, on the 20th December retired with all the Company's property to the village of Chuttanuddy, about four miles below the Dutch factory at Burumnagar, to the spot where Calcutta now stands. Before the end of the month, three of the Nabob's Ministers arrived at Hooghly, and Mr. Charnock

proceeded thither to treat with them. A treaty was agreed on, by which the English were restored to their former privileges. But the Nabob's object was only to gain time that he might crush the Company at once. Early in February, 1687, a large army arrived at Hooghly to expel the English. Mr Charnock not thinking himself safe at Chut-tanuty, quitted it, and embarked with all his officers and goods on the ships, and sailed down to Ingalee. On his way down the river he destroyed the fort of Tanna, and captured some Mogul ships. The island of Ingalee, at the mouth of the river, was the worst situation the English could have chosen. It was a low swamp, covered with long grass, without a drop of fresh water. There, however, Mr Charnock encamped, and built fortifications. In three months half the troops died. The Mogul General followed him, and made various attacks on the place, but was in every instance repelled. The prospects of the English were, however, very gloomy, and it seemed as if they should be obliged to abandon Bengal, when the sun began again to shine on them. The Soobadar sent an Envoy with overtures of peace, which Mr Charnock joyfully accepted. On the 16th August, 1687, a treaty was concluded, by which the English were allowed to set up their factories in different parts of the country, the duty of three and a half per cent was abolished, and Oolobemah was given to them for magazines and docks. On his

part, Mr Charnock engaged to return the Mogul ships he had taken. The cause of this sudden change in favour of the English, was the following. When the troubles in Bengal commenced, the Court of Directors, who were determined to carry every thing by force, sent orders to their Governor at Surat to withdraw the factories from thence, and to begin a war at sea on the Emperor. The Company's factory at Surat was immediately closed, and every Mogul ship which approached, or left the shores of India, was taken. Surat was the port from whence the pious Alabomedans embarked on pilgrimage to Mecca, and the chief business of the Mogul ships of war was to protect the pilgrims in their voyage. The English now guarded the harbour and commanded the sea, and the road to Mecca was closed. It was in order to open this path to his subjects, that the proud Aurungebe was obliged to accommodate matters with the English. After the treaty had been concluded, Mr Charnock removed from Ingellee to Colobariah, and from thence to Chuttanuty. The Nabob, however, soon began his old course of oppression. He ordered the English to return to Hooghly, and not to build either with stone or brick at Chuttanuty, he allowed his troops to plunder them, and demanded a large sum of money of Mr Charnock, who had neither arms to oppose the Nabob, nor money to satisfy him. He, therefore, sent two of the members of Council to Dacca, to

endeavour to soften him, and to obtain leave to continue at Chuttanooty. After much difficulty, these officers had just succeeded in their wishes, when the affairs of the English were again covered with clouds.

When the Court of Directors heard of the battle of Hooghly, and the retreat of the troops to Inglee, they determined to send a larger force to Bengal. They resolved, that if they could not obtain a fort, and a mint, they would throw up the trade, and leave the country altogether. They accordingly sent out Capt. Heath with two ships, one carrying sixty-four guns, with orders, if he could not obtain what they desired, to take all their servants and proceed to Madras. Capt. Heath was a headstrong man, led only by his own hot passions.

He arrived in Bengal in October, 1688, and ordered all the Company's servants to embark, with all the public property, on board his fleet, and on the 8th November sailed down to Balasore. Mr. Charnock endeavoured to moderate his haste, but in vain. When he had reached Balasore roads, the Governor of the town seized the two Company's factors there, and held them as pledges. But though the Chiefs of the factory were now prisoners, and the two deputies were still in the power of the Nabob at Dacca, Heath landed his troops at Balasore on the 29th November, and plundered it. That same day the Native Governor of the place received a copy of the new treaty which the depu-

the had made at Dacca, which provided that the English should assist the Moguls in an attack on Arracan. After having ravaged the country, Mlati sailed to Chittagong, but he found the works stronger than he had expected. It was agreed, therefore, to retire to the Nabob at Dacca, and to state the grievances which the English had suffered. After the letter had been sent, this headstrong officer refused to wait for a reply, but set sail with his fleet to Arracan. On his arrival there, he sent to the King to state, that he would join him in attacking the Moguls, if the English might have a settlement in his dominions. A fortnight elapsed without a reply. Mlati became impatient, and sailed for Madras with the whole fleet, consisting of fifteen sail, on which were embarked the Governor, the Council, the Company's servants, and all their merchandise. Thus were the English settlements in Bengal entirely abandoned about fifty years after they had been established in it. As Bombay and Madras were fortified, they were not touched, but the Emperor ordered all the other factories of the English to be destroyed, and their goods to be seized throughout his dominions.

The Nabob, Shasta Khan, was obliged to comply with these orders. He sequestered all the Company's property in Bengal, and is said to have placed their two Agents at Dacca in irons. Other authorities state that this was done by his deputy without his knowledge. Shasta Khan



himself being now far advanced in years, asked permission to resign the government of Bengal. Though he behaved severely to the Europeans, he was beloved by the Natives. It is said that during his administration grain was sold at eight annas the Rupee. To preserve this happy event in the memory of the people, he built up the gate of the city of Dacca, through which he left it, and placed over it an inscription, forbidding any Nabob in future to pass through it, till he had made grain as cheap.

## SECTION VII

Ibrahim Khan succeeded him in 1689. He was the son of Aly Meidan, who cut the canal near Delhi, which has immortalized his name. Ibrahim was extremely mild, and dispensed justice with great impartiality, but he had no military skill, and was not fitted for so troublesome a government as that of Bengal. One of his first acts was to release the two English deputies who had been confined by his predecessor. Hostilities, however, still continued between the English and the Moguls. The English had the command of the sea, and captured every Mogul vessel which left the shores of India. The voyage of the pilgrims to Mecca was again interrupted. After much negotiation, Aurungzebe resolved to "forgive their past offences, and to allow them to settle as in times past." On this basis a treaty was made

with the Governor of Bombay, and when Ibrahim-Khan was appointed to Bengal, he was directed to invite the English back. He lost no time in writing to Mr Charnock at Madras, to inform him of the Emperor's wishes. He promised to overlook the past, and to grant large privileges for the future. Mr Charnock accordingly returned with all his establishment, and on the 21st August, 1690, landed at Chittagang, and from this date may be reckoned the rise of the city of Calcutta. The next year the Imperial Order, the *Humbol-hookum*, arrived from Delhi. It stated that the English "had made a most humble, submissive petition, that the crimes they had done might be pardoned, and that his majesty, according to his daily favours to all people, had forgiven them." Thus they obtained fresh permission to trade, on paying simply a pecuniary mission to the Emperor. They sighed for a fortnight around their settlement, because without it they could not consider themselves secure. The Court of Directors even authorized the Chief to offer 10,000 Rupees for permission to erect one, and stated that if they could not get a site and a mint, they did not care to extend their business in Bengal. But the jealousy of the Mogul Government would not permit them to have either. Two years after laying the foundation of Calcutta, Mr Charnock died. In the churchyard of the present Cathedral in Calcutta, the founder of this

magnificent city, the European metropolis of Asia, lies interred. His name is yet preserved at Barmackpore, which he also established, and which still continues to pass among the Natives under the name of "Chank."

Affairs now proceeded smoothly. The trade to Bengal, though not large, was steady, but the Company felt that while they were confined to one small village, that of Chuttanuty, they could do nothing. The revenues of this place in 1691 did not exceed One Hundred and Sixty Rupees a month. They were very anxious to obtain a grant of some of the surrounding villages, that they might raise a land revenue, and be able to entertain a large guard. Just at this time, however, Captain Kyd, who had been sent out by several noblemen to trade to India, independently of the Company, turned pirate, and captured two Mogul ships laden with pilgrims going to Mecca. The Emperor became inflamed, he refused to make any distinction between the Company and other English traders, but ordered all their factories to be seized and their trade stopped. Ibrahim Khan, the Soobadar of Bengal, however, protected the gentlemen in Calcutta, and allowed them to continue their trade, though in secrecy.

In 1695 an event occurred, which enabled the English and the other foreigners to do that which no bribes, and no entreaty had obtained them permission to do, namely, to fortify their factories

Sobha Sing, a Hindoo Zemindar, who possessed the villages of Jetwa and Bendeh in Burdwan, being dissatisfied with the Rajah, revolted, and invited Behim Khan, the Chief of the Orissa Affghans, to join him. When their forces were united, they gave battle to the Rajah, who was defeated and slain. His property and his family fell into the hands of the insurgents. Jugut Roy, his son, fled to Dacca, and laid his complaint before the Nabob, who ordered the Fouzdar of Jessore to proceed with three thousand men, and subdue the rebels. Under the weak administration of Ibrahim, the government in the provinces had fallen into disorder. Even so small a force was raised with difficulty, and when the troops marched to Hooghly, they no sooner saw the enemy than they took flight, re-crossed the river, and fled. This great and wealthy town fell soon after into the hands of the insurgents.

The Dutch and the French immediately declared for the Soobadar, and the English soon afterwards ranged themselves on the same side. When the insurrection broke out, they all took a number of parks into their pay, to defend their property, and they also asked the Soobadar's leave to put their factories in a state of defence. He desired them in general terms to defend themselves, and they willingly took this for permission to fortify their settlements. The Dutch factory at Chinsurah was defended by a fort, which had been erected some

years before this time, it was now put in good repair. The English at Calcutta lost no time in fortifying the village of Chuttanuddy, and they obliged every individual to labour night and day at it, till the fort was sufficiently raised. This was the Old Fort, which stood between Tank-square and the river, and the last remnant of which was blown up about twenty years ago. The fortifications which the English put up in 1695 were just sufficient for their defence. They afterwards made additions to the fort from time to time, without noise or show, lest they should attract notice. The rebels having now taken Hooghly, became very bold, and sent troops in every direction to plunder the country. The wretched people crowded in to Chinsurah, where they obtained refuge. To put an end to these ravages, the Dutch sent up two of their ships of war to Hooghly, and poured in such a shower of balls, that the rebels quit- ted it in haste, and fled to Satgong. From thence Sobha Sing sent Rehim Khan to plunder Nuddea. Among the captives who had been taken at Burdwan, was the beautiful daughter of the Rajah, whom Sobha Sing reserved for himself. After the departure of Rehim, he determined to indulge his passion, but the young girl was no sooner folded in his arms, than she drew out a sharp knife, and plunged it into his body, and then buried it in her own bosom. Sobha Sing died of the wound soon after, and the rebels made Rehim Khan their

Chief He proceeded to conquer district after district, so that scarcely a day passed in which the Soobadar did not hear of some disaster. But nothing could rouse him from his lethargy. When his officers urged him to action, he replied, that if the enemy were left to themselves, they would disperse, and that to fight them would only be to destroy God's creatures. His sloth gave them additional courage. One party of their troops advanced to Moorsheadabad, defeated five thousand of the Mogul soldiers, and plundered the city. Another party approached Calcutta, but was immediately repulsed. In March, 1697, they took possession of Rajmahal, and marching to Malda, plundered the factory of the English of immense wealth. By this time they were in possession of a country which yielded sixty lakhs of Rupees a year, and their army amounted to 12,000 horse and 30,000 infantry.

The first news of these extraordinary events reached the Emperor Aurungzebe by the Akbars. As might have been expected, his indignation was not a little excited. He instantly appointed his son, Azim Oshan, Soobadar of the provinces, and ordered Ibrahim to make over the army to his own valiant son Zuburdust Khan. This able General immediately assembled the troops, and proceeded in search of the rebels, with whom he came up at Bhogwanga. The first day he disabled their guns, the second, he gave them battle, in which

they were completely defeated. Ichim Khan was driven from Meerahabad to Burdwan, and from thence back to Orissa. The Zemindars returned to their villages, and peace again smiled on the country.

Meanwhile Azim Oshan, the new Viceroy, arriving at Patna, heard of the valiant exploits of Zuburdast Khan, and finding that there would be nothing left to do, ordered him not to risk another battle. Zuburdast knew well that the order proceeded from jealousy, and asked leave to retire from the service, which was readily granted him. He took away with him 5,000 troops, consisting of his own followers and dependents, and these men were the flower of the Bengal army, and when they departed, the province might be considered as almost without defence. The Prince, Azim Oshan, came down to Burdwan, where he took up his residence and received the congratulations of the Zemindars and others. Ichim Khan deputed this sickle Prince as much as he feared the iron handed Zuburdast. While, therefore, the Court was engaged in rejoicing, he assembled his men, plundered Hooghly and Nudda, and approached within a few miles of Burdwan itself.

On the arrival of Azim Oshan at Burdwan, the English deputed Mr Stanley to wait on him. His object was to obtain a grant of the neighbouring villages of Calcutta and Govindpore, and he took with him a present of a thousand gold mohurs.

for the Soobadar, and broad cloth valued at 800 Rupees, for the Dewan, Azim Oshan had but one object in view, to amass wealth, and no favour was granted without a present. He received the English deputy graciously, took the money, and in July, 1698, granted leave to purchase the ground upon which the City of Palaces now stands. The next year, 1699, the Directors made Bengal a Presidency, and the fort was completed by Sir Charles Eyre, and called after the King of England, Fort William.

When Azim Oshan heard that Rehim Khan had again taken the field, he ought to have marched against him without delay, but instead of doing so, he sent a messenger to him to say, that if he would return to his duty, he should be forgiven. The rebel replied, that if the Prince would send him his chief counsellor, Khwaja Anwas, he would submit. The Prince was foolish enough to do so. The Minister was treated with respect on his arrival in the rebel camp, but on leaving it, was cut to pieces. Rehim Khan now knew that he had nothing farther to hope, and determined to attack the Prince's army while he was off his guard. A large body of Afghans surrounded the camp of Azim Oshan, and he had just time to mount his elephant, when a furious attack was made on him. He would assuredly have been put to death, if Hamid Khan, one of the bravest of his officers, had not called out, that he was the Prince, and



challenged Rehim Khan to single combat. A sharp encounter took place, which ended in Hamid's cutting off the rebel's head. His troops, seeing their Chief fall, fled in every direction. The noble Hamid was rewarded for his act with a title, and raised to the dignity of a Fozdar. Azim Osman continued some time at Burdwan, where he erected a new bazar, which he called Azim Gunge. He likewise regulated the customs of the port of Hoogly at two and a half per cent for Mahomedans, five per cent for Hindoos, and three and a half per cent for Christians. The English, however, were exempted from this rule, because, according to the Imperial Firman, they paid 3000 Rupees by the year. He is said also to have established the Sayer, or internal duties on articles passing from one place to another.

Meanwhile the English settlement at Calcutta grew and flourished. The three villages, of which they had obtained a grant, extended three miles along the river, and one mile inland. In consequence of the security of property which the natives enjoyed, a great many wealthy Hindoos were induced to come and settle there and build houses. This excited the jealousy of the Fozdar of Hoogly, who threatened to place a Cazy in the new town, but he was diverted from his purpose by a present

We now come to speak of Moorsshed Kooly Khan, also called Jaffer Khan, the founder of

Moorsheadabad, and the ablest Governor who ever ruled Bengal under the Mahomedans. He was a Hindoo, the son of a poor brahmin, and was purchased when a boy by Hazy Sufi, a Moosulman merchant, who caused him to be circumcised, and took him to Ispahan, where he gave him a good education. On the death of his patron, he proceeded to the Decan, and entered the service of the Dewan of Berar. There he shewed such knowledge of business and such talent, that his fame reached the Emperor Aurungzebe, who appointed him Dewan of Hydrabad. In that situation also he acquired great credit, and in 1701 was made Dewan of Bengal. During the reign of Aurungzebe and also of his predecessors, from the time of Akbar, the office of Dewan in Bengal had been separated from that of Nazim, that these two offices might be checked on each other. It was the duty of the Nazim to defend the province with his troops, to maintain peace, and to enforce the laws. It was the duty of the Dewan to collect and disburse the revenues. The Nazim received a fixed allowance for his own support from the Dewan, and also supplies of money for his troops, for which he was obliged to give a written order. The Dewan, though inferior in rank to the Nazim, was yet a very important personage. Moorshead Kooly Khan, on receiving his appointment, proceeded to Dacca, where the Court was held, and as the Banages had fallen into great

disorder, he exerted himself to improve them. He was very careful of the public expenditure, and as he would not let the Prince have as much money as he and his courtiers desired, a plan was laid to get rid of him. As he was proceeding one day to the court, a party of the Prince's troops became clamorous for their pay, and blocked up his path. He leaped from his palanquin, and drawing his sword, ordered his servants to clear the way. The soldiers, seeing his resolution, dispersed. On reaching the palace, the Dewan entered the Prince's presence, and accused him of being at the bottom of this conspiracy. Then laying his hand on his dagger, he said, if you want my life, I am ready to meet you, otherwise, let nothing of this kind occur again. The Prince, knowing the Emperor's severity, was not a little alarmed and declared that he was innocent, but the Dewan would not credit him. On returning to his own house, he drew up an account of this event, and sent it to the Emperor, who wrote sharply to the prince, and told him he should be held answerable if the person or the property of the Dewan was touched. At the same time he ordered him to quit Bengal, and to go and reside in Behar. He proceeded, therefore, to Rajmahal, but finding that the air of the place did not agree with him, he moved up to Patna, which after him was called Azimabad. This happened in 1703.

It was at the beginning of this century, that a

new and rival Company was set up by Parliament to trade to India. They passed under the name of the English Company, whereas the real old Company was known as the London Company. This new body sent agents all over India, and among other places, to Hooghly. The rivalry which arose between the two Companies was so very injurious to both, that in about five years the Government in England was obliged to unite them together. They took the name of the United East India Company, by which title the Company continued afterward to be known.

In 1703, the second year of his appointment, Moorsshed Kooley Khan made up the accounts of the revenues, and proceeded into the Decan, to lay them before the Emperor. Since Aungzeb had been on his throne, Bengal and Behar had never been so productive. He was so delighted with the Dewan's activity, that he made him Deputy Nazim, for the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, and presented him with an honorary dress. This gave great offence to Azim Oshan, but he knew his Grandfather's temper, and was obliged to submit.

The great Aungzeb died on the 21st February, 1707, in the ninety-first year of his age. At his death, the Mogul empire had attained its greatest size, and from that time it began to decline. He divided his dominions among his three sons, the eldest of whom was the father of Azim Oshan.

The day after the Emperor's death, his second son, Azim Shah, mounted the throne, and began his march to Delhi. Azim Oshan, on hearing of his Grandfather's illness, immediately left Bengal, to join in the struggles for the empire. He took with him a body of disciplined troops, and eight crores of Rupees, which he had amassed. When he heard that his Grandfather was dead and that his Uncle was determined to enjoy the empire alone, he resolved to endeavour to seat his father on the throne. He took possession of Agra, and soon after seized the annual revenue which was proceeding from Bengal to Delhi, amounting to one crore of Rupees. At length the armies of the brothers, that is, of the eldest and the second son of Aurungzebe met in battle, on the plains of Jajo near Agra. Azim Shah was totally defeated. He perished on the field with his two sons. The victor immediately ascended the throne, and took the name of Behadar Shah. The success of this day was owing to the efforts of Azim Oshan, and his father, to reward his merits, appointed him a new Soobadar of the three provinces, and directed him to confirm Moorsheed Kooley Khan as his deputy in Bengal. The Prince took this opportunity to push on two of his friends, the Syuds, descendants of the Prophet. Syud Abdulla Khan was appointed to the government of Allahabad, Syud Hussein Khan to that of Behar. Behadar Shah died at Lahore in 1712, after a

reign of five years All his sons were at the time in the camp, all eager for the throne. Unable to agree among themselves, they determined to decide the question by the sword In the battle which ensued, Azim Oshan was on one side, and all his brothers on the other He was defeated, and the elephant on which he was mounted, having been struck by a cannon ball, plunged with his master into the Ravee, where both perished. The son of Azim Oshan was at the same time put to death by his brother Moiss-ood-deen, who mounted the throne of Delhi, and took the name of Jender Shah Before we resume the history of Bengal, we will complete the events connected with Delhi.

When Azim Oshan quitted the Lower Provinces to join his father, in 1707, he left his son Ferokshere, as his Agent in Bengal. The year after, that Prince removed to Moorsshedabad, and lived five years very cordially with the Soobadar, without interfering with the government After the death of Behadar Shah and of his son, in 1712, Ferokshere applied to Moorsshed Kooly Khan to assist him in gaining the throne of Delhi, but the Nabob positively refused, and advised him to leave Bengal quietly. Ferokshere proceeded on to Patna, and took up his residence in a cataramserrai, The Governor of Behar at the time was Syud Hussein Aly, who owed his rise to Ferokshere's father The son of that father now supplied his

assistance. Dreading the power of Jehander Shah, however, Hussein Aly refused his request. Ferokshere then asked him to favour him with but one visit, and this he could not refuse. On arriving at the inn, he was introduced into a private room, when the Prince represented to him that his elder brother, and the Princes, had been murdered in cold blood after the battle of Lahore, and that he had nothing to expect from his Uncle, the present Emperor, but death or confinement. He, therefore, entreated Hussein Aly to assist him to mount the throne, but Hussein was unmoved by his prayers. Suddenly the young daughter of Ferokshere advancing from behind the screen, fell at his feet, and besought him to have compassion on her father and his wretched family, and to remember how he owed every thing to her grandfather. She represented that he, a descendant of the Prophet, ought not to be unmindful of his commands, "never to forget benefits conferred." While she was speaking, the widow of Azim Oshan came forward and added her entreaties, the women behind the screen at the same time set up loud lamentations. Hussein Aly, unable to withstand all this, turned to Ferokshere, and said, all I can offer you is my life, and this I devote to your service. The next day Hussein introduced him into the city of Patna, and proclaimed him Emperor of Hindoostan. When Syud Abdullah, the Governor of Allahabad, heard of this event,

though overwhelmed with astonishment, he determined to support the cause of Ferokshere, the son of his benefactor, and the two brothers began to contrive means for seating him on the throne of Delhi. Just at this juncture, the annual tribute from Bengal arrived at Allahabad, and Syud Abdullah did not scruple to seize it. Syud Hussein also borrowed large sums of the bankers of Patna, which were made payable with heavy interest when Ferokshere should obtain the throne. With this aid, he marched on to Benares, where money was also obtained on the same terms from the bankers. He proceeded by easy marches to Allahabad, his army increasing as he advanced. At that place he was joined by Abdullah, and the brothers were now able to muster 25,000 cavalry, and a good train of artillery. The contending armies of Jehander Shah and Ferokshere at length met, in January, 1713, in the vicinity of Agra, and after a battle which lasted a whole day, Jehander Shah's troops were entirely defeated, he himself was soon after put to death, and Ferokshere was proclaimed Emperor. Though he had real cause of complaint against Moorsheed Kooly Khan, he confirmed him in all his appointments. Moorsheed sent the annual tribute with the same punctuality to the new Emperor, as he had done to his three predecessors.

Moorsheed Kooly Khan was fully aware that much of the prosperity of Bengal was owing to



its sea borne commerce. It, therefore, encouraged the Arabs in this trade, while he looked with jealousy on the fortified factories of the foreigners, and more especially of the English. As soon as he was firmly seated in power, he set at nought the privileges they had gained, from Prince Soorya and the Emperor Aurungzebe, and demanded either the same duty which the Natives paid, or repeated presents. These demands irritated the Company, and they determined to send an embassy to the Emperor at Delhi. It consisted of two of their ablest servants, and Khojah Serhau, an Armenian, who was said to be well versed in Native intrigues, with Mr William Hamilton, as Surgeon. The presents which they took were very rare and valuable, and were said to be worth three lakhs of Rupees. The Armenian sent word to Delhi that they were worth ten lakhs, and Ferookshere, the Emperor, ordered the Governors of the provinces through which they might pass, to escort them. At this period, the two brothers, the Synds, who had placed Ferookshere on the throne, held the highest offices at court, but the Emperor did not much like them, because he owed them too much. There was another individual, one Khojah Hussein, a favourite, whom he had raised to the post of Paymaster, or Khan Dowran. To him the ambassadors applied on their arrival at the court, rather than to the regular ministers.

The Soobadar had looked with jealousy on the embassy, as it passed with pomp through Bengal and the Western Provinces. He knew that the object of it was to free the English from his authority, and he resolved to make it fruitless. He would, probably, have succeeded, but for one event of one of the Hindoo Rajpoot Princes, Rajah Ajeet Singh, and the bride had arrived at Delhi. Just then, he was attacked with a sharp disease, which his physician could not cure, and which prevented the marriage. On the advice of the Khan Dowran, Sir Jamilton, the English Surgeon, was called in, and restored the Emperor to health. The grateful Monarch promised to give him what over he might ask. He imitated the noble example of Mr. Bougilton, and only prayed that the Emperor would grant what the embassy had come for. The Emperor promised to do so, but the nuptials consumed six months, during which the position was not heard. The request of the English was, that a dastuck or passport from the President at Calcutta, should exempt all goods mentioned in it from being stopped or searched by the Native officers, that the mint at Moorshedabad should three days in the week coin money for the Company, that all persons, European or Native, indebted to the English, should be given up to the President in Calcutta, and that the English should be allowed to purchase thirty-eight

towns and villages around Calcutta The Almis-  
 ters raised many objections to these demands, but  
 they were in the end granted When the Eng-  
 lish were ready to depart, they were told that the  
 Firmán only bore the signature of the Vizier, and  
 not that of the Emperor They petitioned again  
 and again, but were obliged to wait two years  
 before the business was finished And they would  
 scarcely have obtained the Emperor's seal to the  
 deed, if the English Governor of Surat had not  
 left that factory, and retired to Bombay The Mi-  
 nisters, on hearing of this, began to fear lest the  
 English should again stop the Mogul ships and  
 pilgrims, and they hastened to complete the deeds  
 The ambassadors took their departure in tri-  
 umph, in 1717 Moorsshed Kooly Khan beheld  
 their success with indignation The thirty-eight  
 villages which had been granted them, gave them  
 ten miles South of Calcutta on each side of the  
 Hooghly Thus it gave them also the command  
 of that river, and, of course, of the maritime trade  
 of Bengal He was ready to allow the other ar-  
 ticles of this Firmán, but this grant of land he  
 resolved to resist He wrote to all the Zemindars  
 to say, that if they gave an inch of ground to the  
 English, he would never forgive them, and thus  
 were their hopes entirely frustrated The other  
 privileges which they had obtained, however, were  
 of very great value After the return of the em-  
 bassy, the citizens of Calcutta, both European and

Native, enjoyed a degree of freedom which was unknown elsewhere. Merchants from all parts flocked to the settlement, and built houses, and established counting houses. The shipping soon amounted to 10,000 tons, and Calcutta became the most flourishing port in India.

In 1718, Moorshed Kooly Khan was appointed by the Court of Delhi, Nazim and Dewan of Bengal, as well as of Bengal and Orissa. No subject had ever enjoyed such power in the Mogul empire, since the days of Akbar. The next year, the unfortunate Ferokshere was put to a cruel death, and was succeeded by Mahomed Shah. The Nazim sent presents as usual on the accession of the new Emperor, as well as the annual tribute, and was confirmed in his government.

During the eighteen years in which Moorshed Kooly Khan governed Bengal without control, he made very important changes in the collection of the revenues. He removed the greater number of the old Jageerdars who had been employed in that duty. He divided the country into thirteen *chukhs*, of which two were considered as part of Orissa, five lay to the West of the Ganges, and six to the East of that river. Besides these great divisions, there were a number of minor zemindaree trusts created by him. In all these divisions, great as well as small, he appointed Zemindars to collect the revenues. The Hindoo Rajahs of Dinagapore, Nudde, Rajsahye, and other places,

were created by him the collectors of the 12 divisions were in his time only the collectors of the dues of the state in the ancient *Chit'ab*, but they gradually became rich and powerful, and their officers eventually became hereditary. Thus in 1725, Raj-bahadur was placed under the charge of one Ramin, a Brahmin, a small and feeble bodied. Xudder was made over to a Brahmin of the name of Rughnath. But some difference was made in the case of Berhoom and Masumipore. Berhoom was left in the hands of a Mahomedan of the Pathan tribe, whose name was Bahadur. He paid but a small sum to the treasury, because he was required to keep a body of troops to repel the mountaineers which had governed it for more than a thousand years. In every case the Nabob chose to employ Hindoos in collecting the revenues, because they were not only docile but able in accounts.

Before he made over these large estates to the new Zemindars, he caused an accurate survey of them to be made by his own officers. Upon their report he made alterations in the rent, by which he obtained an increase of more than eleven lakhs of Rupees a year. In the year 1727, his rent roll was completed. It was the third which had been

established since the Moguls conquered the country, and it shewed an assessment of the whole of Bengal, of one crore, forty two lakhs, and eighty-eight thousand Rupees. Of this sum a little more than thirty-three lakhs were appropriated to defray the expenses of the government, civil, police, military and naval, and the lands from which this sum was raised, were called *Jaygeers*. The clear yearly profit of Bengal, after paying all expenses, was one crore, nine lakhs, and sixty thousand Rupees, and the lands from which this sum was raised, were called *Khalsa*. Moorshed Kooly Khan was punctual in remitting this revenue to the imperial treasury at Delhi, every year, and hence it was, that whoever became Emperor, he remained Subadar of the three provinces. The remittance was made in specie. Regularly as the new year came round, the treasure was put upon two hundred, or more carts, drawn by bullocks. The Naib and his Ministers accompanied the conveyance, some miles from Moorshedabad. It was then made over to one of the sub-treasurers, who, with three hundred horse and five hundred infantry, conveyed it to Delhi. A statement exists of his having thus sent sixteen crores and a half of Rupees to Delhi, in fifteen years and nine months. The whole of the troops employed in guarding the country and collecting the revenue, did not exceed 2000 cavalry and 1000 infantry. Before his time the Nazim had retained a body-guard of

good horse, these he dismissed, and thus saved  
 ten lakhs of Rupees a year. He examined all the  
 accounts himself, and concluded in no one. He was  
 severe in the taxation of the revenue. None of  
 the Zemindars whom he employed, whether in the  
 larger or smaller divisions, ever dared to keep back  
 a single Rupee of the revenue. So great was the  
 dread of his power, that a single message from  
 him was sufficient to bring in all arrears. When  
 ever the Hindoos committed great frauds, he ob-  
 liged them and their families to become Althome-  
 dars. Great cruelties were exercised on the peo-  
 ple by his revenue officers, but whether with his  
 knowledge or not, it is difficult to say. One Nazir  
 Al was said to have subjected the Zemindars to  
 every kind of torture when their rent fell into ar-  
 rear. But Sayad Raza Khan, who had married  
 the Nabob's grand daughter, excused all others  
 exactly. To enforce the collection, he caused  
 a poem to be dug, which was filled with ordure and  
 intolerable filth. The Zemindars who withheld  
 the rent, were dragged with a rope through this  
 filth, which the inventor called, by way of mock-  
 ery Mykoon, or Paradise.

Moorshed Kooli Khan devoted two days in the  
 week to the administration of justice, his decisi-  
 ons were so impartial, that they became famous  
 through Hindostan. He was constant to one  
 wife, and never admitted any concubines into his  
 palace. He was careful to provide against famine,

and never permitted the exportation of grain. He was himself well versed in Mahomedan lore, and encouraged learned men, he was also exceedingly charitable to all. His habits were simple, he partook only of the most ordinary food, he indulged in no luxury, his whole soul was given up to business

In the year 1724, seeing that he had not long to live, he ordered his own tomb to be built in a very magnificent style. He used every effort to procure for his grandson, Serfraz Khan, the same high post which he had enjoyed. But the father of the youth, Soojah-ood-deen, then Governor of Orissa, counteracted his father-in-law's views, and endeavoured to obtain the sobodaree for himself. He succeeded in his efforts, by means of one of the principal Ministers at Delhi, who was his friend, and procured the Emperor's grant of the office, whenever Moorsheed Kooley Khan should die. That great man died the next year, 1725, after having governed Bengal twenty-four years, of which for eighteen years he had none to control him. Soojah-ood-deen had placed messengers at Moorsheedabad to send him a daily account of the health of the Nabob, and when he found that there were no hopes of his recovery, he set off for the capital. On his way he heard of the death of the Nabob, and at the same time received the imperial appointment to the office. He now hastened his progress, and arriving speedily at Moor-



shedabad, to find his son ready to take possession of the guddie. But when the young man perceived that his father was supported by the Court of Delhi, he wisely gave up his claims, and Soogah-ood-deen became Nazim and Dewan of Bengal, in 1725. Though Moorsheed Kooly Khan had watched the English with jealousy, and often thwarted their views, they greatly regretted his death, as we discover from their letters to the Court of Directors.

## SECTION VIII

Soogah-ood-deen was descended from a Turkoman family of Khorasan. He was born at Boorhanpore, in the Decan, and having in his youth formed an intimacy with Moorsheed Kooly Khan, received his daughter in marriage. When Moorsheed was nominated Dewan of Bengal, he sent his son-in-law as his deputy into Orissa. Soon after, a relative of Soogah's, one Mirza Moorsheed, joined him with his two sons, who were called Haje Ahmed and Mirza Mahomed Aiy. They both became famous in the history of Bengal, more especially the latter, who, fifteen years after the death of Moorsheed Kooly Khan, obtained the sovereign power under the name of Aiy Verdy Khan. The brothers were placed in public posts, and being men of ability, made the rule of their patron very popular.

It was the practice of the Moorsheeds to

whatever any of the public servants had been able to accumulate, belonged, on his death, to the Emperor Shah Soogah, therefore, seized upon the effects of the deceased Soobadar, his father-in-law, and sent sixty-one lakhs of Rupees of them to Delhi, probably as much was kept back. This rich present induced the Emperor to confirm him in his government, but another officer was appointed to govern Behar. Soogah appointed his son, Serferaj Khan, the Dewan of Bengal, and associated Roy Alum Chand, a Hindoo, with him as his deputy, with the title of Roy Royan. He soon after formed a Council of State, whom he was accustomed to consult in all important affairs. It consisted of the two brothers, Hayy Ahmed and Mirza Mahomed Aly, of Alum Chand and of Jugut Set, the imperial banker. He began his government by an act of clemency, he released all the Zemindars whom his predecessor had imprisoned for arrears. It is said, that notwithstanding this mildness, he was enabled to remit to Delhi a crore, and forty eight lakhs of Rupees from the revenues of Bengal and Orissa the first year, but this sum must have included the effects of his father-in-law.

The year after the death of Moorshead, in the year 1726, a Mayor's Court was established in Calcutta, to dispense justice upon the same footing as the Madras Court. It was composed of a Mayor and Aldermen, who were all English.

When a similar Court was first set up at Madras, some years before, the Directors desired that a number of Natives, Portuguese and Armenians, should be admitted into it, but no one of them would accept of office. In the instructions which were sent from England about this Court, it was ordered that its process should be simple and short, that "justice might not be made sour by delay."

Sojah-ood-deen threw off the frugal habits of his predecessor. He loved pomp and luxury. The palace of Moorshed Kooly Khan was found to be too small for him, and he built a more magnificent one. He increased the army from five to twenty-five thousand men, with an equal proportion of cavalry and infantry. Yet his government was at the beginning so wise and mild, that all men said he deserved his good fortune.

Two years after his accession, the Governor of Behar having conducted himself amiss, was deposed, and that soobah was again annexed to Bengal. Sojah ood deen was anxious to confer the government on his son, Serferaj Khan, but his wife would not part with him. It was, therefore, given to Mirza Mahomed Aly, better known as Aly Verdy Khan, who was, doubtless, the ablest man at the court. He continued to govern it for eleven years, till the year 1740. On arriving at Patna, he found the government in great disorder, the Zemindars disobedient, and robbers plundering

the country in every direction. He, therefore, took into his service a body of Affghan troops, under Abdul Kureem Khan, a brave officer. With their aid, and that of the troops who came with him, he brought the country into order. He exacted large sums from the Zemindars, with which he enriched his troops. But when he had completely succeeded in his efforts, he put Abdul Kureem Khan to death, for his insolence. It is said that this act struck terror into the disobedient, and confirmed his power.

About this time, the merchants in the Austrian Netherlands, being desirous of sharing in the trade of the East, got permission from the Emperor of Germany to establish an East India Company at Ostend. They sent out several ships to Bengal, and began a very lucrative trade, but the English and the Dutch became very jealous of them, and endeavoured to root them out of the country. They had obtained possession of Banky-bazar, a little below Chandernagore, on the opposite side of the river, where they erected strong fortifications. But at length, in 1733, they were driven from Bengal, and their fort was levelled with the ground.

Sojah ood deen had appointed his Son in law, Moorsheed Kooly, Deputy Nazim of the province of Dacca, who employed a person of the name of Alexer Hubeeb, as his Dewan. This man was a native of Sheraz, in Persia, and had been a broker

at Hooghly, though he could neither read nor write, he was a man of the greatest abilities. While he was employed at Dacca, a Nephew of the independent Rajah of Tipperah, being displeased with his Uncle, took refuge with a Mahomedan Zemindar, who recommended him to Meer Hubeeb. The Dewan thought this a favourable opportunity for conquering Tipperah. He proceeded with an army across the Brumhapooter, and entered the country before the Rajah was aware of his approach. The Rajah was obliged to flee into the mountains, his Nephew was raised to the throne, and engaged to pay the largest share of the revenues to the Governor of Bengal. It was at this period that the kingdom of Tipperah, which, from the most ancient times, had been independent, was annexed to the Mahomedan dominions. The next year, Moorshed Kooly was appointed deputy Governor of Orissa, and took his able Dewan, Meer Hubeeb, with him. Under his management, the expenses of the province were lessened, and the revenues increased. During the administration of the preceding deputy Governor, the Rajah of Khooda, being offended with his measures, carried the image of Jugunnath across the Chilka Lake, beyond the boundaries of Orissa. This injured the revenues of the province, because the tax which the pilgrims paid, to the extent of nine lakhs of rupees a year, was lost. The first step which Moorshed Kooly and his Dewan took

on their arrival in Orissa, was to oblige the Rajah to bring back the Idol, and establish it again at Pooree. The pilgrims flocked to it as usual, and this revenue was restored to the state.

When Moorshed Kooly was removed to Orissa, Soogah ood-deen appointed his son, Serferay Khan, to the nominal government of Dacca, naming Ghalib Aly, as his deputy, and Jeswant Roy, as the Dewan of the province. This able man had been trained up under the former Nazim, Moorshed Kooly Khan, and imitated his example in piety, charity and attention to business. He reformed all abuses. Under his able management the province became rich and flourishing, justice was impartially administered, and the conduct of Jeswant Roy and his master was extolled through the country. It has been stated before that when Shasta Khan governed Bengal, and held his Court at Dacca, he reduced the price of corn to eight maunds the Rupee, and to keep this event in memory, built up the gate through which he left the city, and ordered that no one should open it, till he could reduce grain to a lower price. Jeswant Roy succeeded in doing so, and ordered the gate to be thrown open to the public. As the Soobadar, Soogah ood-deen, advanced in years, he paid less attention to business, and his son, Serferay, took much upon himself. He unwisely recalled Ghalib Aly from Dacca, and sent a young man, a relative, Murad Aly, to be deputy Governor, who took with

him Raybulub, and made him Peshkar. They began their government with many oppressions, which so disgusted Jeswant Roy, that he threw up his office and returned to Moorshedabad. As there was no longer any one to control Murad Aly and Raybulub, they committed every species of oppression, and soon reduced the province to poverty.

During the reign of Soojah-ood-deen, the foreign settlements of the English, French and Dutch, enjoyed peace, and increased in wealth. The Vice-roy never interfered with the privileges they had obtained from the Emperors and former Governors - Only one dispute happened with them in his time. The foudar of Hooghly had seized a boat laden with silk, belonging to the English, they sent up a file of soldiers and released it. This was represented to the Viceroy, as a great offence, and he issued an order forbidding the Nawabes to supply Calcutta, or the other factories, with grain. The English were obliged to avert his displeasure with a large sum of money. Their trade was greatly augmented during this period, but it was not managed with ability. It yielded only a profit of eight per cent a year, while the commerce of the Dutch at the same time yielded twenty-five per cent. The Agents of the English Company in India, were too deeply engaged in private trade, to pay attention to the interest of their Masters. Though the higher officers in Cal-

cutta did not receive more than 300 Rupees a month, yet they, one and all, lived in a style of the greatest luxury, and this they were enabled to do from the profits of their private trade. It appears that not only the President, but some of his subordinates, rode about in a coach and six, and generally sat down to dinner with a band of music. The Court of Directors were obliged, therefore, to write out and rebuke their servants for this style of living. The French settlement at Chandernagore was under the direction of that great man, Dupreix, from 1733 to 1742, and he increased its prosperity beyond all his predecessors. Before he was appointed Governor, he was an extensive merchant, and he improved the trade of the town by his private enterprises. He had no fewer than twelve ships of his own, with which he traded to every port in India. During his government, two thousand brick houses were built at Chandernagore, and the influence of the French was greatly extended in Bengal.

In the year 1737, on the night of the 11th of October, there was a furious hurricane at the mouth of the Bhagurutee, the effects of which were felt nearly two hundred miles up the river. Calcutta suffered beyond description. At the same time occurred a violent earthquake, which did infinite damage to the town. Two hundred houses were destroyed, and the magnificent steeple of the church sunk into the ground, without break-



Twenty thousand ships, sloops and boats, are said to have been destroyed. Of nine English ships then in the river, eight were lost with all their crews. Vessels of sixty tons burden were carried over the tops of the trees, and lodged in-land two miles from the river. The loss of life was computed at three hundred thousand souls. The water rose forty feet higher than usual in the river. These calamities were followed the next year by famine. The Governor of Calcutta came forward and liberally assisted the poor Natives, their rents were remitted, money was advanced to them, the duty on rice was taken off, and a large quantity of food was bought and distributed among the most indigent, at the public expense. The reign of Soojah-ood deen, which extended to fourteen years, was very prosperous. He himself is represented as having been a model of justice, kindness and liberality. Before his death, he sent to great forgiveness of every individual whom he thought he might have offended. He regularly transmitted the tribute, amounting to more than a crore of Rupees a year, to Delhi, and this was one chief reason of his remaining so steadily in office. Finding his end approaching, he called his son, Serfraz Khan, and having made him promise to follow the counsel of Hyly Ahmed, Jangut Set, and the Roy Royan, he appointed him to the government. This was the first time in which the Governor of Bengal had ventured to appoint

his own successor since the Moguls had conquered the country. But at this time, Nadir Shah, of Persia, had invaded India, and the Mogul empire was shaken to its foundation. The Emperor had too much to do at home to attend to the affairs of a distant province. Soogah-ood-deen died in 1739.

His son, Serfey Khan, mounted the throne without opposition, and sent messengers to Delhi, to beg that he might be confirmed. Nadir Shah, who had now conquered that unfortunate city, sent into Bengal to demand the arrears of revenue. His letter, which was addressed to Soogah-ood-deen, reached Serfey Khan, who not only transmitted the tribute, but ordered the coin to be struck in the name of the conqueror. He retained the old counsellors, whom his father had recommended, Roy Alum Chand, Jugut Seti, and Hay Ahmed, but he paid more attention to his pleasure than to business. The brother of Hay Ahmed, Aly Verd Khan, was then Governor of Behar, and the most powerful subject in the three provinces. Unhappily for the Viceroy, he received three or four noblemen into his confidence, who hated the family of the Hay, and took every occasion to poison their Master's mind and to inflame him against them. All the acts of the Viceroy clearly shewed Aly Verd and his family, that they were no longer in his good graces. Serfey Khan lost no opportunity of annoying the Hay, who regularly sent an account of every thing

that passed to his brother at Poonah. August Sette also became interested. Serravallo Khan, who was a man of licentious habits, determined one day to take the beautiful bride of August Sette's son, thus the whole of that powerful family became enemies of his throne. At the same time he endeavoured to break off a match in the family of Hays Alamed, and to marry the bride to his own son. A combination was now formed to dethrone Serravallo. Aly Verdi Khan, seeing that there was no security for his family while the Viceroy reigned, employed his interest at Delhi to obtain the governorship for himself. He promised to transmit a crore of Rupees over and above the annual tribute, and all Serravallo's property. Ten months after Nadir Shah's departure from India, and thirteen months after Soorji's death, he received his patent from the Emperor. He then collected his army, under pretence of marching against Bhogpore, but when the troops had proceeded a little distance, he assembled his officers, and made them swear, the Mahomedans on the Koran, the Hindoos on the water of the Gauges, that they would stand by him to the last, with their lives and fortunes. After the oath had been administered he told them he was going to Moorshedabad to revenge the wrongs of his family. His army was immediately ordered to turn its course to Bengal. Aly Verdi at the same time wrote to the Viceroy, that though he was coming to remove

his family, who had been insulted, he was still a dutiful subject Serfery was struck with astonishment when he heard that Aly Verdy was marching against him. After much delay his army was assembled together, and marched to Gemah, not far from the capital. His opponent, as he advanced, wrote to him repeatedly that he would be his most obedient subject, if he would dismiss four or five of his favourites. But when a Prince obeys commands from a subject with arms in his hands, he gives up his throne. Serfery Khan would possibly have been so weak as to listen to the rebel, if his new friends had not persuaded him against it, for to them it would have been death. The two armies at length met, a fierce battle ensued, a musket ball laid Serfery dead on the field, and his army fled. Aly Verdy Khan marched slowly to Moorshedabad, and ascended the throne of his benefactor. The battle of Gemah occurred in January, 1741.

## SECTION IX

Aly Verdy Khan was sixty five years old when he became the Soobadar, or Viceroy of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. He obtained the government normally, by the imperial Firman, but in reality by the power of his sword. The empire had been almost broken up by the invasion of Nadir Shah, and if the weak Emperor, Mahomed Shah, who then filled the Delhi throne, had been desirous of

appointing any other Viceroy, he had not the means of doing so. It was a fortunate circumstance, however, for Bengal, that such a man as Aly Verdy Khan was now at the head of affairs. He had been employed for more than twenty years in the management of public affairs, in peace and in war, and he was equally able in the cabinet as in the field. Such a man was required for the troublesome times which we are about to describe. On his arrival at Moorsheadabad, instead of putting to death any of the family or followers of Serferay Khan, he treated them with the greatest tenderness. The great Moorshead Kooly Khan, knowing that all the money, jewels, and moveable property he might leave at his death would be seized by the Emperor, had purchased some estates for the benefit of his family, which were duly registered in his name. When his personal property was sent off to Delhi, after his decease, these estates remained in possession of his son-in-law, on whose death, they passed to his widow, the mother of Serferay Khan. Aly Verdy left her in the full enjoyment of them, and treated her with such veneration, that he would never sit down in her presence, without permission. By such wise measures he conciliated his enemies. He also trans- mitted to the court, the crore of Rupees which he had promised, likewise a *pescauh* or present, and a large portion of the property of Serferay Khan, he thus secured the Emperor in his favour. He

had no sons of his own, but his three daughters were married to his three Nephews, the children of his brother Hayy Ahmed. The eldest, Nuwassh Mahomed, was made Governor of Djeca, the youngest, Zyn-ood-deen, Governor of Behar, and his son was adopted by Aly Verdý, as his own heir, and invested with the title of Seray ood-dowlah. His second Nephew, Syud Ahmed Khan, was promised the government of Orissa, when it should be conquered.

Orissa had been placed by Soogah ood-deen in the hands of his son-in-law, Moorshed Kooly, who was accompanied by his able Minister, Meer Hu-beeb. He was disposed to submit to the superior fortune of Aly Verdý, but his own wife and his valiant son-in-law, Bakhir Aly, gave him different counsel. They urged him to revenge the death of Serferaj, and to make an effort to acquire so rich a prize as Bengal for himself. He accordingly broke off a treaty which had been begun, and Aly Verdý on hearing of it, ordered him to quit Orissa without delay. Moorshed now assembled his Generals, and asked if they would stand by him. Abed Aly, his generalissimo, assured him that he might rely on their faithfulness. The army was then advanced beyond Balasore, towards Bengal, and encamped in a very strong position. Aly Verdý, with twelve thousand of his best troops, moved down to meet him. Had Moorshed Kooly wisely remained in his entrenchment, Aly Verdý must

Alf, Volder returned a month at Gattick. At  
 having settled the country, he appointed his  
 second Xephie, Syd Thind, Governor, and re-  
 turned to Moorshedabad. But this young man  
 gave himself up to evil counsels, and brought his  
 affairs to ruin. A certain Sukter, of evil character,  
 acquired an ascendancy over him and led him into  
 every vice. The people were oppressed, and be-  
 came restless. Mirza Iskhair at all this time  
 hovering over the province, ready to take advan-  
 tage of any movement. He influenced the minds of

the people by his Envoys, and a revolt at length broke forth in the city. Muza Bahur was called in, Syud Ahmed was placed in confinement, and the province of Orissa was lost to Aly Verdy. He was not a little surprized to hear of this reverse, and supposed that Muza Bahur must have been secretly supported by Nizam ool-moolk, the Viceroy of the Decan. He, therefore, assembled an army, three times as large as that with which he had conquered the province, and advanced with great haste to the frontier. On arriving there, he promised a lakh of Rupees to any one who should rescue his Nephew. A battle was fought on the banks of the Mhanudee between Aly Verdy and Muza Bahur, in which the former was again victorious. Syud Ahmed had been placed by Muza Bahur in a carriage, covered with a white cloth, and five hundred spearmen had been stationed round it, with orders, if the battle appeared to go wrong, to trust in their weapons, and put him to death. They literally obeyed these commands, but as Syud Ahmed crouched down, he received no injury, though one of the Moguls who had been placed in the car to murder him, was himself killed. Aly Verdy Khan received him with tears of joy, and after several days' entertainment, sent him to Moosshedabad, to delight the eyes of his parents. With him he sent back part of his troops and his heavy baggage. He appointed a new deputy Governor over the province of Orissa,



and marched back leisurely with five thousand horse and his best officers, amusing himself with hunting and shooting as he proceeded

But the greatest calamity with which Bengal had been visited for many centuries, was about to fall upon it. The Alabattas had, in the preceding century, established a new empire in Western India, and had made large conquests around them, the countries they were unable to keep, they always pillaged. They had for some time past obliged their weak neighbours to pay them a *chout* or fourth of the revenues on condition that they should abstain from pillage. Bengal had hitherto been free from their incursions, but they were determined no longer to allow it to escape. As Aly Verdy Khan approached the town of Midnapore with his small retinue, an army of twenty-five thousand Alabatta horse poured down suddenly on the province, under Bhaskur Pundit, the General of Rughoo-jee, the King of Nagpore. The Viceroy was totally unprovided for such an event; he had disbanded part of his troops, others had returned to Moorshedabad, and he had only a few thousand horse and foot with him. He instantly broke up his camp and hastened to Budwan, but as he approached it on one side, the Alabattas arrived in the opposite direction, and set it on fire. Their Chief then sent to demand ten lakhs of Rupees, and promised to retire, if it was paid. The Viceroy scorned to buy peace on such terms. He

draw out his little army and all on the Alabattas, but they wheeled round, and captured all his tents and baggage. He himself was separated in the battle from the main body, and at night was obliged to rest with a few followers on the hill. His own chief officers had not afforded him the assistance which during the day they ought to have given. He suspect treachery. The next day he sent to the Alabattas to sue for peace. Bhaskur Pandit replied to his Envoy, "Your Master has lost all his baggage, his troops and Generals are discontented, he can never escape me. But as he is one of the greatest Sovereigns in India, we will spare him if he will pay down one crore of Rupees, and give up all his elephants." Aly Verdy was inflamed at this demand, and replied, that as long as his soul was in his body, he would never submit to such infamy. But his case was almost desperate. His troops were going over to the enemy by hundreds. His Generals also were disaffected, and were endeavouring to form a treaty with the Alabattas. Aly Verdy was obliged to bound to the storm. In the dead of the night, he took his young grandson, Sarayood down, by the hand, and walked without an attendant to the tent of Mustapha Khan, his Commander in Chief, and calling him up said, "Here, friend, I know your discontent. If you want my life, take it. Despatch me and my grandson at once, and dispel all your fears. But if you have any remembrance of

our former friendship, make a new engagement with me, and let us meet the Alirattas together." Mustapha called up the other discontented General, and they one and all swore that they would stand by their Master to the last. Aly Verdy Khan the next morning resolved to cut his way through the enemy, to Cutwa, and they proceeded slowly fighting all day. At night the Alirattas renewed the attack. Alir Hussein was wounded and fell into their hands, and having a violent hatred of Aly Verdy, he took service with them and became for some years the scourge of Bengal. The Viceroy's troops were kept together with great difficulty. The next day they proceeded on their route, fighting every inch of the way. They had neither tents nor baggage, neither guns nor food. At night they slept under trees, when the enemy would let them. But day and night the enemy's horse surrounded them, and left them little peace. For food they were obliged to live on leaves and roots, seven noblemen thought it a luxury to obtain three quarters of a seer of rice among them. At length they came in sight of Cutwa, where they hoped to obtain repose and plenty, but Bhaskur had sent his horsemen beforehand, and burned the town and destroyed the gran. Aly Verdy on his arrival there, immediately wrote to Alorshodabad for supplies, which came down to him in great abundance.

The noble conduct of the Viceroy in this re-

treat, not a little surprized the Alabattas. They naturally thought that he would be still more formidable with a well supplied army. The rains of 1712 had now set in. Bhabhur Pundit determined to return to his Maater, but Meer Hubeeb, his new ally, was anxious to get something more out of Bengal before he left it. He accordingly took several thousand of the best horse, and rode in one day from Cutwa to Mooshedabad. Aly Verdy followed him close, but before he could come up, Meer Hubeeb had already plundered the suburbs of the city, and taken no less than two crores of Rupees from the house of Jugut Set, the rich banker, with this sum he retired. During his absence, the Alabatta General, alarmed at the appearance of the rains, had retreated as far as Beerbhoom, where Meer Hubeeb overtook him and insisted on his returning to Cutwa. That place became the head quarters of the Alabattas for the season. Aly Verdy was confined to the East of the Bhagurtee, and even the inhabitants of Mooshedabad, not thinking themselves safe, sent their effects across the Ganges, and many of the Viceroy's family did the same. Meer Hubeeb, with the Alabattas, came down and plundered Hooghly, and laid the whole country from Bala-sore to Rajmahl, under contribution. On his approaching Calcutta, the English began to repair their fortifications, and, for greater security, dug a ditch round their settlement, called the Alabatta

Ditch. The name is still preserved, though the ditch is not to be seen

The Viceroy now made extraordinary efforts to equip the *Alharcas*. Fresh troops were enlisted, and the artillery put in order. In the midst of these preparations an Envoy arrived from *Don* to demand the arrears of revenue. *Ally Verd* wrote to the Emperor, that the *Alharcas* had possession of a third of the country, and that the revenues of the rest were required for the large army which he was obliged to keep up to oppose them, he was therefore totally unable to transmit the usual tribute. The Emperor having found, upon enquiry, that this was indeed the case, ordered the *Soobadar* of *Oude* to advance to the support of the province, but when he arrived at *Pattana* he gave himself such airs, that *Ally Verd* was more happy at his departure than at his arrival. The Emperor also wrote to *Billyer-row*, the Commander-in-Chief of the *Alharcas*, advising him to proceed to *Bengal*, and expel the *Nagpore* *Alharcas*, or he should not be able to pay him the *chout* of the other provinces.

*Ally Verd* having now assembled his Army, marched at the close of the rains towards *Cuttah*, where the *Alharcas* were encamped. He crossed the river during the night by a bridge of boats and fell upon their host in dawn. They were completely defeated, and fled, first into the *Western* hills, and then to *Madanapore*. He gave them no

rest, but pursuing them with vigor, drove them to Balasore, and finally across the Chilka Lake entirely out of the province

But fresh disasters awaited him. Returning victorious to Moorsheadabad, he found two fresh armies of Mahratas plunderers in its vicinity. Rughoojee, the Rajah of Nagpore, by the advice of his General, Bhaskur, had got together a new army to invade the country. While, therefore, Aly Verd, Khan was chasing his General through Orissa, the Master himself was entering Bengal in another direction, and was now encamped not far from the capital. Ballajee-row also came in at the request of the Emperor, as he said, to expel the Nagpore Mahratas, but Aly Verd would most gladly have been without his aid. Aly Verd went out to meet him as he advanced from Bhagnulpore. After the first interview, which was very friendly, the Viceroy requested his new ally to join him in driving out Rughoojee. But the object of Ballajee-row was not to defend, but to plunder, Bengal, he, therefore, demanded the *chout* of the revenues of Behar, which he said had not been paid for many years. The Viceroy was obliged to submit, and to pay him the utmost *courte*, which he said was due. But even after he had been paid, he hesitated to proceed against the other Mahratas army, and Aly Verd was obliged to march alone. Rughoojee had in the mean time heard that there was a union between Ballajee and the

Viceroy, and thought it prudent to decamp. On Aly Verd's approach, he struck his tents and fled into the mountains. Ballajee no sooner heard of this flight, than he immediately set out in pursuit of his body of his own countrymen, and gave them a total defeat. Their tents, with all the plunder they had collected, fell into his hands, and they quitted the country in haste. Ballajee having thus enriched himself with the plunder of his brother Alabrattas, and with the *chout* he had squeezed out of Aly Verd, thought it time to depart also for his home.

The rains of 1744 were no sooner over, than Bhaskur Pundit was sent with a fresh army of twenty thousand men, to invade Bengal. He had orders to retire, if the Viceroy would agree to pay him the same sum which he had paid the year before to Ballajee. Aly Verd, wearied with these repeated attacks, was determined, if possible, to take off his enemy by treachery. He asked his own General, Mustapha Khan, to assist him in this act of perfidy, he refused at first, and only agreed to it at length, on being promised the government of Behar. Aly Verd then sent him and another officer to treat with the Mahrattas, and they promised to agree to Bhaskur Pundit's demands, if he would pay a visit to the Viceroy. Blinded by his avance, he agreed to the proposal. On the day of meeting, armed men were placed in ambush round the tents. Bhaskur and his chief

officers entered Aly Verdy's tent with their hands on the hilt of their swords, as if they suspected treachery. As the Mahatta chieftain advanced, Aly Verdy Khan rose from his throne, and asked three times, which was the valiant Bhaskur, and on his being pointed out, exclaimed, "Fall upon those freebooters!" Instantly his attendants drew their sabres, and fell upon the Mahatta General and officers, they sold their lives dear, but were at length overcome, and every man was cut down. Mustapha Khan, on seeing how affairs were going in the tent, put himself at the head of his brigade, and rode on to Cutwa, where the Mahatta army lay. The Viceroy was advised to follow him, but he would not move till the head of Bhaskur had been brought to him, that he might feast his eyes with the sight. He then marched off to join Mustapha, but found on his arrival at Cutwa, that the enemy had fled. In fact, they no sooner heard that their officers had been massacred, than they retreated in haste to their own country.

## SECTION X

The Viceroy thus obtained some respite from the Mahattas, but a more dreadful enemy now appeared in his own camp. Mustapha Khan had hitherto been his chief counsellor. To his valor he owed the government of Bengal, and it was through him that he had hitherto defeated the



Mahattas. Alustapha had now, however, become too big for a subject. The Zemindars, when they had any thing to ask, made their suit to him, and not to the Viceroy, who felt that his servant was becoming his master. Alustapha demanded the performance of his promise, and insisted on immediately having the government of Behar. This the Viceroy was resolved not to grant. He remembered that it was with the resources of Behar that he himself had been enabled to overcome Seraf, and to conquer Bengal. He knew that Alustapha would not be content with this province, but would stretch his desires to Bengal. Jealousies now arose between the parties. Alustapha never went to court but with a body of armed men. At length, he publicly declared his intention of quitting the Viceroy's service, and demanded his arrears, they were paid him to the extent of seven teen lakhs of Rupees, without any examination of his accounts. He then made proposals to the Viceroy's Generals to depose their Master, and to divide his dominions among them, but they continued firm in their allegiance to Aly Verdy. At length he marched out of Bengal with eight thousand horse and as many foot, plundered Rajmahal, took Monghyr, and encamped before Patna. The Governor, Zyn ood-deen, met him with the few troops he could collect, but the city would have been taken, had not the elephant of Alustapha been wounded. He descended from it, and

his troops, not seeing their Chief, were as usual, panic struck and fled. For seven days, however, there were daily skirmishes between the two armies, on the eighth, Mustapha made another assault on the city, but being wounded with an arrow in his eye, was obliged to retreat, and fled into the dominions of Oude.

When Mustapha had resolved to revolt against his master, he invited the Mahattas to join him in the invasion of Bengal. Rughojee was not backward, he burned to revenge the death of Bhaskur Pandit, his General, and to obtain more plunder. He therefore entered Bengal with a large army, and approached Moorsheadabad. Aly Verdy had gone in pursuit of Mustapha, but hastened back on hearing of the arrival of the Mahattas. Mustapha also prepared to return to Behar and form a junction with his new friends. The Vice-roy having two enemies on his hands, was in no small dilemma. He directed his son-in-law, Zyn-oodeen, to watch Mustapha, and to prevent his approaching Bengal. With the view of gaining time, he sent to beg that Rughojee would abstain from invading the country, but he haughtily replied, that he must have three crores of Rupees, as the price of his forbearance. The Viceroy did not absolutely refuse the sum, but continued for two months to amuse him with hopes. Meanwhile Zyn-oodeen met Mustapha in battle, the rebel was killed, and his troops were dispersed.

The Viceroy on hearing of this victory, and seeing himself delivered from one enemy, sent as haughty message to the Alahrattas, and both parties prepared to meet each other after the rains. Several engagements were fought, in which Rughoojee was worsted, and but for the treachery of two of the Viceroy's Generals, Shumshere Khan and Sirdar Khan, he would have been taken prisoner. A decisive engagement was at length fought at Cutwa, the Alahrattas were entirely defeated with great slaughter and fled to their own country. Soon after, Aly Verdy dismissed his two treacherous commanders, who, he found, had formed a league with the Alahrattas, and they retired with six thousand of their followers to Durbanga in Behar. In the short interval of peace which he now enjoyed, the Viceroy celebrated with great pomp the nuptials of his two grandsons, the children of Zyn-ood deen.

The province of Cuttack was still in possession of the Mahrattas, and Aly Verdy was determined to expel them from it. He deputed one of his best Generals, Meer Jaffer, on this expedition. Jaffer advanced to Midnapore, but gave himself up to enjoyment, and on the approach of the enemy, retired to Burdwan. Atta oolah Khan, an officer in his army, however, met and defeated them. A fanatic, who had for some time accompanied him, gave him hopes of becoming Viceroy, and he took advantage of his victory to enter into a conspiracy

to dethrone his Master He drew Meer Jaffer in-  
to his plans by promising to give him the province  
of Behar, but that General soon after withdrew  
from the scheme by the advice of his best friends  
Aly Verdy no sooner heard of this new act of  
treachery than he hastened to the scene, and im-  
mediately dismissed both Meer Jaffer, and Atta-  
oolah Khan from his service Though he was  
weakened by the loss of the two Generals and of  
part of their troops, he gave the Alahrattas battle,  
beat them and retired to Moorsheadabad before the  
raids of 1748

New treacheries however awaited him His Ne-  
pnew, Zyn-ood-deen, the Governor of Behar, in a  
late visit to the capital had been struck with the  
splendour of the court He reflected on the in-  
capacity of his two brothers, and the great age of  
his Uncle, and the thought came into his mind  
that with a little exertion, he might become Vice-  
roy For this purpose, he wrote to Aly Verdy  
to say, that the two Generals he had dismissed,  
namely, Shumshere Khan and Sudar Khan, were  
constantly increasing their troops, at Durbanga,  
and that they ought either to be subdued, or to be  
attached to the public service, he asked permis-  
sion therefore to receive them and their followers  
into his army His object was to increase his  
troops that he might be prepared to struggle for  
the throne The Viceroy, with some reluctance,  
consented Zyn-ood-deen sent three Envoy to in-

With him, he it length expired, and the mis-  
 fortune of his recovery his friends. Worn out  
 seized by the rebels. They tortured him for se-  
 and his return, he lingered therefore till he was  
 but he could not separate himself from his gold  
 escaped on a fleet horse which was ready for him,  
 murdered Governor. The old man might have  
 palace, sent for Ilay Ahmed, the father of the  
 Shumsher Khan, after having purchased the  
 for, they were already in possession of the city.  
 words, but it was too late to resist the tru-  
 place, and the Governor's servants drew their  
 a loud cry of treason resounded through the  
 at them and him did it one blow. Immediately  
 the officers who had been introduced to him, one  
 not was employed in distributing little money  
 he filled with their troops, and while the Gover-  
 per, on the second day the palace was gran-  
 him. The interview of the first day passed off in  
 them with only his own servants around  
 want of confidence in him, he agreed to receive  
 respects to the Governor, but as they expected a  
 was appointed for the two Generals to pay them  
 to cross them and their forces. Soon after, a time  
 and gave directions that boats should be provided  
 at it them. He was received with much respect,  
 Governor was prevailed on to cross the river and  
 body of troops to the banks of the Ganges. The  
 terms had been settled, they marched with all ge-  
 with the Chiefs to enter his service. When the

gents obtained all his gold and silver, to the value of seventy lakhs of Rupees. They also dug up jewels to a large amount, in various parts of his house, as he successively confessed, under the rack, where they were concealed.

The widow of Zyn-ood deen, fell into the hands of these Afghan traitors. With the plunder they had thus obtained they immediately increased their troops, and soon had under their command forty thousand foot and the same number of horse.

Aly Verdy Khan was deeply affected when he heard that his brother and Nephew were slain, that his daughter was a captive, and that Behai was lost. While these events happened at Patna, his old enemies, the Mahrattas, under Meer Huseeb entered Bengal, and threatened his capital. But the aged Viceroy never lost his presence of mind. He prepared himself for the crisis. He advised the inhabitants of Moorshedabad to take care of themselves by moving across the great river with their goods and their families, and the capital was soon deserted by all who could afford to leave it.

The Viceroy, having equipped an army of fifteen thousand horse and eight thousand foot, set off to meet the rebels. The Mahrattas immediately changed their plans, and, instead of plundering the country, proceeded by rapid marches through the hills, in the hope of joining the Affghans before the Viceroy's arrival. Shumshere Khan and

Sirdar Khan moved down with their forces from Patna to Bar where the Mahatras met them. It appears to have been the genius of Meer Hubeeb, which had contrived the whole of this plan, the murder of Zyn ood-deen, the capture of Patna, and the march upon Bengal. On his arrival, he and the Mahatras Chief received the two Affghan Generals, but after the usual compliments, they detained him by force. They informed him that they had engaged in the undertaking only at his request, that they had performed their promise, by taking Patna and putting the Governor to death, that they had now come into the field, ready to engage, and wanted their arrears, and that they would not let him off, unless he paid down forty lakhs of Rupees. Meer Hubeeb, never at a loss for an expedient, caused a report to be spread that the Viceroy's army was at hand, and in the confusion which this news created, he contrived to escape by the payment of only two lakhs of Rupees. This dispute between the two parties was advantageous to the Viceroy, because it prevented a union of the two armies, in the battle which took place the next day. In this battle, the Viceroy was completely victorious, both the rebels fell, and their heads were cut off and fastened to the foot of his elephant. It is true, that during the





had promised to join them. The Viceroy was naturally incensed at this second act of treachery, and ordered that the traitor should be expelled from the capital before his return. He left Moorshedabad accordingly with a sum not short of seventy lakhs of Rupees in money, besides jewels. This amazing fortune had been amassed while he was in the secondary situation of foudar of Bhagulpore. We are thus enabled to understand the character of Aly Verdy's government. The officers whom he employed were allowed to amass enormous fortunes by plundering the provinces committed to them, the officers flourished, while the poor perished.

Aly Verdy, after a little repose, placed himself again at the head of his army, and proceeded to expel the Abhadrats from Orissa. They fled at his approach, so that he found it impossible to bring them to a pitched battle. Worned with hunting them over the mountains and through the forests, he returned towards his capital. But he had no sooner taken his departure, than Meer Hubeeb again emerged from the woods, and began his usual career of plunder. Aly Verdy was obliged again to advance with his army. He had hitherto retired across the Bhagurutee, on the commencement of the rains, but being now more anxious than ever to deliver the country from these freebooters, he resolved to encamp during the rains at Aldnapore. But when every preparation had been

made, the unfortunate Viceroy was alarmed with a new act of treachery.

His grandson, Sery ood-dowla, was beloved by him with more than a fatherly affection, and the youth was entirely spoiled by these caresses. Some evil disposed men obtained influence over him, and poisoned his mind against his lord grandfather, and persuaded him to make an effort to obtain the throne. He yielded to their advice, wrote a letter to Aly Verdy upbraiding him for ill treatment, and set off with his followers for Patna, of which he was the nominal Governor, determined to collect troops, and march against his grandfather. Aly Verdy was distracted when he heard of his departure. He was afraid lest his grandson should, if he made an attack on Patna, should lose his life. He quitted the army and hastened to Moorsbadabad, where he remained only one day, and then marched on in search of the youth Sery ood-dowla, having arrived before Patna, ordered Jankee-rum, the deputy Governor, to quit it. He knew, that if he gave up the town, he should incur the Viceroy's anger, but that if the boy should be killed, the Viceroy would never forgive him. Happily Sery-ood-dowla was a coward. Sixty of his brave followers broke down a part of the mud wall which surrounded the city, and entered it, but they were met by the guards, and fell, fighting like heroes. Their Master followed them at a distance, and took refuge in a

house when the engagement began. There the deputy Governor took him prisoner without bloodshed or violence, and conveyed him safely to the palace. When Aly Verdy heard of this event, he became so outrageous in his joy, as to excite the ridicule of his own servants. No lover could have shown more ardour to meet his mistress than the old Viceroy did to see his rebellious grandson. When they met, instead of reproaching him for his ill conduct, Aly Verdy fell on his neck and covered him with kisses. The excess of his joy for the recovery of his grandson, threw him into a fever, and his life was for some time despaired of. The Alibhattas and Meer Hubeob in Orissa, no sooner heard of his dangerous state, than they prepared to make another attack on Bengal. Aly Verdy was obliged, therefore, to put himself at the head of his troops, and to march to Aldinapore before he was fully recovered. There he joined battle with the Alibhattas, completely overthrew them, and pursued them through Orissa, but as they constantly eluded him, he returned with his troops to Moorshedabad.

Both parties were now tired of the war. It had lasted ten years, and though the Viceroy, except in the first battle, had always been victorious, he could not but see that the country was ruined by the ravages of the Alibhattas. So greatly had their incursions injured the revenues, that he had not been able to send a single Rupee of tribute to

Delhi since he had begun his reign. The whole of the country lying to the West of the Bhagurutee, from Cuttack to Raymah, had been plundered, year after year, the villages burnt, the inhabitants slain, and the harvest destroyed. No thing could exceed the distress of the wretched people. They approached the Viceroy in their anguish, and offered to pay any sum, in addition to the regular taxes, if he would deliver them from the yearly destruction of their crops. Aly Verdy was anxious to put an end to this desolation, both for the sake of the people and for his own sake. He was now in his seventy fifth year, broken down with the toils he had suffered in ten campaigns, and he wished to have time for putting his kingdom in order before his death. The Mah-rattas and Meer Hubeeb were also weary of a war, in which they had always been defeated. An Envoy was sent on their part to propose terms of peace. They were not a little humiliating to the Viceroy, but he preferred them to constant warfare. He agreed to pay the Maharrattas *twelve lakhs* of Rupees a year, as the *chout* of Bengal, to leave the province of Orissa in the hands of Meer Hubeeb as the deputy Governor, with leave to pay all the revenues to liquidate the arrears of the Maharratta troops, to fix the *Soubannah* as the boundary of Bengal to the South, which river the Maharrattas were never to cross. Meer Hubeeb had now attained the height of his wishes, he had

humbled Aly Verdy, and was become the ruler of Orissa, but he was not long to enjoy his triumph. His Mahratra allies, not having any farther need of his services, treacherously put him to death the year after the treaty. Within four years after, that is, in the year 1755, Aly Verdy, as one of the last acts of his life, yielded the province of Orissa entirely to the Mahratras.

Aly Verdy Khan having thus made peace with the Mahratras in 1751, enjoyed some breathing time. Though far advanced in life, he set himself to repair the ravages of the war as vigorously as if he had been a young man. He rebuilt the villages which had been burnt, called back those who had fled, advanced money to the husbandmen, and encouraged agriculture by every means in his power. As he had shewn his ability in war during the first ten years of his reign, so he showed his talents in peace during the last five years. He attended to business with the greatest regularity, and every hour of the day had some duty fixed for it. By such constant care and attention, the country revived, and the ravages of the Mahratras were almost forgotten.

Nothing worthy of note occurred in his reign after the Mahratra peace, till the year 1756, when the fabric of his greatness, which he had built up with so much care, began at once to sink. His grandson, Ekram ood-dowlah, died at the beginning of this year. He had been adopted by Ne-

waiish Mahomed, the Nephew of Aly Verdy, who, on the loss of his son, lost his own reason. Serey-ood-dowla, the other grandson of the Viceroy, had been, as we have stated, completely spoiled by his grandfather. He was indulged in every vice, and no one dared to contradict him. He paraded the streets of Moorshehabad with his lewd companions, and committed every kind of violence on females as well as on men. When the people of the city saw him pass, they exclaimed, God save us from him. His fond and foolish old grandfather, now in his eightieth year, took no notice of these excesses, which rendered the profligate youth still more bold. He had conceived a violent hatred of Hussein Kooly Khan, the deputy Governor of Dacca, and of his family, and determined to destroy them. To effect this, he first sent one of his followers to that city, who assassinated the Nephew of that nobleman in open day, before all the people. He then asked his grandfather's permission to put Hussein Kooly Khan to death. Aly Verdy replied, that it could not be done without the permission of his Master, Newaish Mahomed. Instead of forbidding this act of violence, he left the city and went out hunting to Raymah, that he might avoid seeing it. His aged wife, the grandmother of Serey-ood-dowla, went herself to Newaish, and begged leave to slay her innocent friend and servant. The wife of Newaish, Gesaty Begum, joined her entreaties to that of the

rest Overcome by their prayers, he appeared to yield his consent Seroo ood dowlah, as he went home from this interview, passed by the house of Hussein Koooly Khan, and ordered him to be brought out, and backed to pieces before his eyes His blind brother was dragged forth at the same time and butchered The curse of God, says the Mahomedan historian, fell on the guilty family of Aly Verdý, for these atrocious murders Newaish died almost immediately after, his brother, Syud Ahmed, Governor of Poorneah, was carried to his grave in two months, and Aly Verdý, broken hearted with the conduct of his grandson, and bowed down with sorrow for the death of his two Nephews, died on the 9th April, 1756

Aly Verdý was a man of first rate ability, both in war and in peace He possessed great energy of character, and of these he gave proof by pursuing the Mahráttas through Orissa at the head of his troops, when he was seventy-five years of age During ten years after he ascended the throne of Bengál, he was constantly in the field, fighting either with his foreign foes, or with his own treacherous Generals During the last five years, his administration in peace was in the highest degree praiseworthy His General, Mustapha Khan, frequently incited him to attack the English at Calcutta, but he always replied that he had enough to do on land, and asked, if the sea also should be set on fire, who could put out the

James He alluded to the power of the English at sea, which he knew would be employed, it he broke with them, in destroying all the maritime trade of the Native merchants. During his reign, the French, Dutch and English enjoyed peace and security. On only two occasions did he exact contributions from them, when he required money to repel the Alahattas. He had a presage in his mind, that the kingdom he had acquired would pass into their hands. He knew the hatred which his grandson bore to the English, and he declared his fears, that after his death, the Europeans would become masters of all the shores of Hindoostan. The great error of his reign was his foolish fondness for his grandson, who became a monster of vice. He became sensible of his error after it was too late. When, on his dying bed, some of his servants asked him to recommend them to his successor, he replied, if after my death you find that Séray ood dowa remains for three days on good terms with his grandmother, you may have some hope for yourselves.

## SECTION XI

A great revolution was now at hand. Aly Verdy Khan, a valiant soldier, and an able statesman, had struggled for ten years to keep the Alahattas from conquering Bengal. Yet at the end of that period, though he had repeatedly defeated them, he was obliged to submit to their terms, and to



pay them twelve lakhs of Rupees of tribute a year. In the year before his death, he had been constrained to resign one of the three Soobahs of his government, that of Orissa, to them. His throne was now filled by a youth of twenty-four, proud, cruel, weak and profligate, who had no other object of life but his own pleasure. It was impossible that Bengal and Behar should long remain in his possession. The Alahutias were ready, now that the renowned Aly Verdy was dead, to renew their incursions, and there was every prospect that the country would pass into their cruel hands, but Divine Providence had otherwise ordered affairs. The kingdom of Bengal, and eventually the empire of Hindoostan, was now to be given to the English, who at the death of Aly Verdy had not the remotest idea of ever becoming Lords of India. We propose to describe with some minuteness the steps by which the English were led to the conquest of it.

Seraoood dowlah took possession of the throne of Bengal and Behar on the 10th of April, 1756. The Emperor of Delhi was reduced to so low a condition, that the new Viceroy did not consider it necessary to ask for any firman from him. The first act of his government was to send his troops to plunder his Aunt, the widow of Nawabshah, of all her treasures. Her husband had accumulated immense wealth during his sixteen years' government of Dacca, and she succeeded to

it on his death. The troops she had hired to defend her property, forsook her in her need, the money was quietly sent to the Viceroy's palace, and she was turned out of her residence. Ray Buluh had been the deputy of Nizam Shahi at Dacca, and, as usual in the Mohammedan times, had gained great wealth by plundering the province. We have stated that Nizam Shahi died at the beginning of this year, 1756. Aly Verdy, though still on the throne, was in his dotage, and his grandson immediately took Rajbuluh, who was then at Moorshedabad, and placed him in confinement. At the same time he sent his emissaries to Dacca to seize all his property, but his son, Kis sendas, embarked all the family wealth in boats, and under pretence of going on pilgrimage to Gunga Sagar or Juggunath, proceeded to Calcutta. He arrived on 17th March, and was allowed by the Governor, Mr Drake, to take up his residence in the town, where he was determined to remain till he should hear of his father's release. Scarcely was it known that this wealth should have escaped him, he, therefore, sent a messenger to Calcutta, to demand that Kissendas should be given up, but as the man came without credentials, Mr Drake turned him out of the town. Soon after, intelligence was received from Europe, that there would probably be a war in a short time between the English and the French. The latter were at that time very powerful on the

coast, and they had ten times as many European troops at Chandernagore as the English had at Calcutta. The English, therefore, began to repair their fortification. This circumstance was not long in reaching the ears of the hot youth now on the throne, who had always cherished the utmost hatred of the English. He wrote a severe letter to Mr Drake, ordering him not only to erect no new works, but to pull down the old, and to deliver up Kissendas without delay.

Srud Ahmed, the Uncle of Semy ood-dowla, died, as we have said, a month or two before Aly Verdy, and bequeathed all his wealth, his troops, and his province of Poorneah\* to his son, Sokut Jung, who entered on the government a little before his Cousin became the Soobadar. Both of them were equally rash, cruel and foolish, and it was clear that they could not long remain at peace. Semy ood-dowla immediately on his accession, dismissed all his grandfather's old servants and Generals, and took into favour young men of licentious habits, who encouraged him in every vice. They urged him daily to acts of injustice and cruelty, so that neither was any man's property nor any female's honour safe. The chief men of the State, unable to bear these outrages, looked about for some one whom they might place on the throne in his stead. Their eyes fell upon Sokut Jung, and though it was almost certain that he would prove no better than Semy-ood-dowla,

yet they resolved to hope for the best. A conspiracy was forthwith formed, and an Envoy was sent to Delhi to beg the Emperor's favour, appointing him Nazim of these provinces. The petition was accompanied by a promise to send a crore of Rupees a year to the Emperor, and hence it could not but succeed.

Seraj-ood-dowla discovered the conspiracy. He immediately assembled his army and put it in motion towards Poorneh, determined to destroy his Cousin. The army had proceeded as far as Bahmah, and was preparing to cross the Ganges, when Seraj-ood-dowla received the reply of Mr. Drake, the Governor of Calcutta, to the letter which he had sent. It stated in firm language, that he would not comply with the Viceroy's orders. On receiving this answer his rage exceeded all bounds. He charged the English with harbouring State offenders, and fortifying themselves in his dominions, and he threatened to root them out. He ordered the camp to break up, and the army to march against Calcutta, without a moment's delay. On his way down, he plundered the factory of Cossimbazar, and placed the Europeans he found there in custody. The English in Calcutta, had now enjoyed peace for more than sixty years, and had allowed their fortifications to go to decay. They had, indeed, become so secure, that houses had been built almost within forty yards of the wall. The garrison

consisted at this time of one hundred and seventy men, of whom only sixty were Europeans. The powder was old and damaged, the guns were rusty. Serajooddola was now marching down to attack the town with an army of 40 or 50,000 men, and a good train of artillery. The English saw that they had no chance of resistance, they, therefore, sent repeated letters to beg for peace, and offered large sums of money. But the Viceroy would listen to nothing, he was resolved to exterminate them, and instead of returning any answer, continued his march. On the 16th June, his advanced guard reached Chitpore, but the English had thrown up a redoubt there, which sent such a shower of balls among his troops, that they retired and encamped at Dum-Dum.

On the 17th, the Viceroy's troops surrounded the town, and on the next day made an attack in all directions. They took possession of the houses near the walls, and kept up so brisk a fire from them, that scarcely any one dared to show himself on the fortifications. During this day many were killed and more wounded, the outworks were taken, and the English were obliged to retire within the fort. During the night some of the largest houses around the fort were set on fire and blazed with great fury. A council of war was held to determine what should be done. The military officers, of whom no one understood his duty, said there was no safety but in flight. The number of

natives who had crowded into the fort was so great, that the provisions it contained could not have lasted a week, hence it was resolved to embark first the women and then the men, early the next morning, on board the vessels which were lying off the fort, and to abandon the town. But there was no one great mind in the fort to direct these movements. Every one wished to command, and none would obey. By the time the women were embarked, a general panic seized both those who were in the fort and the boatmen. Every one rushed to the beach, the boatmen hastened to push off, and each one, thinking only of himself, leaped into the first boat he could seize. The Governor, Mr Drake, and the military Commandant, were among the first to fly, in a few moments, every boat was gone, some to the ships, and some over to Howrah, while more than half the garrison and gentlemen were left behind. As soon as it was known that the Governor had deserted his post, the rest assembled and chose Mr Holwell for their Chief. The ships on which the fugitives had embarked, proceeded about two miles down the river and then anchored. On the 19th June, the enemy made another attack, but were repulsed. Signals were made to the ships to come up and rescue the garrison, which might easily have been done, but during the two days in which the fort held out, those on board never made one effort to save those whom they had abandoned.

One hope was yet left. The *Royal George* was anchored off Chitpore, and Mr Holwell sent two gentlemen to order her down to the fort, but on her way she took the ground, and could not be got off. Thus the last hope of the unfortunate garrison was lost. On the night of the 19th, the enemy set fire to the rest of the houses round the fort. The 20th the attack was renewed with more vigour than before. Mr Holwell, seeing resistance vain, sent a letter to Manikchand, the Viceroy's General, to sue for peace. At four, in the afternoon, one of the enemy's troops made a signal to desist from firing, and the English, fancying that a reply had arrived from the General, stopped the fire of their guns. But they had no sooner done so, than the enemy rushed up close to the walls, and began to scale them. In an hour the fort was in their possession, and they set to work to pillage the houses. At five, Seraj ood dowlah arrived in a dooly, and the Europeans were brought before him. Mr Holwell's hands were bound, but the Viceroy ordered them to be loosed, assuring him that not a hair of his head should be touched. At the same time he expressed great surprize, that such a handful of men should have held out so long against an army four hundred times more numerous. He held a durbar in the open air, and ordered Kissendas to be brought before him. As one of the reasons given for this attack on the English, was, that they had

harboured this man, it was supposed that he would have been severely punished, but the Nabob actually bestowed a dress of honour upon him

Between six and seven the Nabob returned to his camp, leaving the fort in charge of a Native officer. There were at the time one hundred and forty six European prisoners, including one lady and twelve wounded officers. The Commandant sought for some place where they might be placed in security for the night. There was in the fort at this time a room, eighteen feet long by fourteen, with only one window at each end to admit air, in which turbulent soldiers used to be confined. Into this small chamber, the Mahomedans thrust all the European prisoners in the hottest month of the year. Nothing could exceed the horrors of that night. The prisoners were soon oppressed with unquenchable thirst, and the water they received from the guards only served to make them frantic. Every one struggled to reach the window to catch a breath of air, in their anguish they entreated the guards to fire on them and end their misery. Gradually one after another sunk down dead on the floor, and the remainder, standing on this heap of bodies, had more room to breathe in, and thus a few survived. When the door was opened in the morning, only twenty three were found alive, out of one hundred and forty six. This was the massacre.



of the Black Hole, which gave such deep horror to the capture of Calcutta. It is this atrocity which keeps the event fresh in the memory of men in all countries, and Seraj-ood-dowla has passed as a monster of cruelty chiefly on this account. But he knew nothing of this deed of darkness, till the next morning, the whole blame rests upon the Hindoo, Manickchand, who had been left in charge of the fort for the night. When the Nabob was informed of the circumstance on the morning of the 21st June, he manifested the greatest indifference. Mr Holwell was one of those who were confined in the Black Hole, and survived, and he was sent for and requested to point out the treasury. To the Viceroy's surprise, only half a lakh of Rupees were found in it. Seraj-ood-dowla remained nine days in the vicinity of Calcutta, changed its name to Ally-purgur, and then marched back to Moorsshedabad. He crossed the Hooghly on the 2nd July, and sent to demand contributions of the Dutch and the French, threatening to treat them as he had done the English, if they refused. The Dutch escaped by paying four lakhs and a half of Rupees, and the French, by the payment of three and a half. In the same year in which Calcutta was taken, and the English expelled from Bengal, namely in 1756, the Danes obtained a grant of land, and laid the foundation of the town of Serampore.

On his arrival at Moorsshedabad, Seraj-ood-dow-

la, now flushed with success, determined to renew the attack on his Cousin, Sokut Jung, the Governor of Poorneah. To bring on a quarrel, he appointed one of his own servants a Fouzdar in that district, and ordered his Cousin to put him in possession of the office. This inflamed the youth almost to madness. He wrote in reply, that he was the legitimate Soobadar of the provinces, and had received his appointment from Delhi, he ordered the Nabob at the same time to quit Moorshedabad, and retire wherever he wished. Seraj-ood-dowlah was now enraged in his turn. He directed his army to be assembled and to march against Poorneah, without a moment's delay. Sokut Jung, on his side, put his army on the march, but he knew nothing of war, and was above receiving any advice. His Generals advanced with the troops to a strong position, with a morass in front, over which there was but one causeway. There the army encamped, but it had no leader, and there was no plan of action, each Commander stationed his troops where it suited him. Seraj-ood-dowlah's troops at length came up in front of the morass, and began to open a fire on their opponents. The larger cannon annoyed Sokut Jung's army, on which he foolishly ordered his cavalry to cross the morass, and charge. They waded with difficulty through the mud, and on reaching firm ground, were briskly attacked by Seraj-ood-dowlah's troops. While the battle was raging, Sokut Jung

returned to his tent to amuse himself with his women, and became so drunk that he could not sit erect. His officers came after him, and insisted on his placing himself at the head of the army. They contrived to seat him on an elephant, with a servant to support him, and advanced him to the edge of the morass. He had no sooner arrived there, than a ball from the opposite army struck him on the forehead, and he sunk dead in the howdah. His troops, on seeing him fall, broke their ranks and fled. Two days after, Mohun Lal, the Viceroy's General, took possession of Poonah, and all the treasure found in it, amounting to nearly ninety lakhs of Rupees, together with Serajoodowla had not ventured into the battle; indeed, he had not advanced farther than Raymah, but he took great credit to himself for the victory, and returned to Moorshedabad in great pomp. We now resume the affairs of the English, which had been entirely ruined by the capture of Calcutta. Mr. Drake, after he had so shamefully deserted his countrymen, sent to request succour from Madras, and remained with his companions on the ships, near the mouth of the river, where many died of disease.

When the news of the calamities which had befallen Calcutta reached Madras, the Governor and Council were filled with alarm. They saw nothing but danger on every side for a war.

France was daily expected. But though the  
 French were strong at Pondicherry, and their own  
 troops were few in number, yet they resolved that  
 their first duty was to resist Bengal. They im-  
 mediately fitted out a fleet, and collected a small  
 army, the former under the command of Admiral  
 Watson, the latter, under Col Clive. Clive had  
 come out to India thirteen years before, at the  
 age of eighteen, in the Civil Service, but having a  
 turn for military life, he entered the army, and  
 soon became distinguished as a soldier. At the  
 time of his departure for Bengal, he was only thir-  
 ty-one years of age, young in years, but old in ex-  
 perience. Much time was lost at Madras in mak-  
 ing preparations, and the ships did not sail before  
 October, 1756. The North East monsoon had  
 then commenced, and the vessels were six weeks  
 in coming up to Calcutta, and two of them did  
 not arrive till long after the rest. The army, which  
 was sent to recover this town, consisted of 900  
 Europeans and 1500 Native sepoys. On the 20th  
 December they reached Wulta. On the 25th they  
 advanced to *Alorapore*, where the *Moguls* had a  
 fort at that time. Col Clive landed all his troops  
 during the night, but his Native guides misled  
 him, and it was sunrise before they came in the  
 vicinity of the fort. Alimlichund, the Viceroy's  
 General, came down unexpectedly upon them from  
 Calcutta, and if his troops had done their duty,  
 the English might have been defeated. But Clive

soon brought his guns to bear on the enemy, and a ball having passed through Manikchund's howdah, he took flight and fled to Calcutta. Afraid to remain even there, he left a garrison of five hundred men in it, and made all haste to join his Master at Moorshedabad. Clive now marched up by land to Calcutta, but the ships arrived before him, and cannonaded it for two hours, when it surrendered to the Admiral on the 2d of January, 1757. Thus was Calcutta regained with the loss of scarcely a man.

## SECTION XII

Clive knew well that the Nabob would not make peace, unless he was frightened into it. Two days after the retaking of Calcutta, therefore, he sent ships and troops up to Hooghly, which was then a wealthy place, of great trade, and captured it. It appears that as soon as he had gained possession of Calcutta, he sent to the Setts at Moorshedabad to ask them to mediate between the English and the Nabob, and to conclude a treaty of peace. Seraj-ood dowla, it is said, listened to their advice at first with much pleasure, but as soon as he heard that Clive had taken and plundered his port of Hooghly, he flew into a rage, and ordered his army to march instantly to Calcutta. On the 30th of January he crossed the river at Hooghly with his troops, and on the 2nd February passed within half a mile of Clive's encampment, and fired his

tents at the back of the town Clive's army mustered about 700 Europeans and 1200 Natives, the Nabob's troops numbered about 40,000 Serayood dowlah had no sooner arrived, than Clive sent to offer him peace, and he declared his willingness to make a treaty. Several other meetings took place between the English Envoys and the Nabob, but though his professions were peaceful, they saw that he was not sincere. His arrival had alarmed the Natives around Calcutta, so that they fled, and provisions began to be scarce with the English. Clive found it necessary, therefore, it once to attack the Nabob. He proceeded on board the Admiral's Ship, on the night of the 4th, and procured six hundred sailors from him. He landed with them at one in the morning, at two, all the troops were under arms, and it four they were in full march towards the Nabob's camp. The whole force consisted of 1350 Europeans and 800 Sepoys, and with these Clive boldly proceeded to attack an army twenty times as numerous. Just as the day dawned, one of those fogs so common at the close of the cold season, arose, so dense that no one could see three yards before him. The English, however, marched through the enemy's camp, engaging them as they went. They lost two hundred and twenty in killed and wounded, but the Nabob, a far greater number. This bold attack frightened him beyond measure. He saw with what a daring foe he had

to deal, and immediately removed his camp to the distance of eight miles. Clive made preparations for another attack, but Serajood Dowla was now heartily sick of the war, and agreed to a treaty, which was signed on the 9th February. By it, the English obtained all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed, their merchandize, in its passage through the country, was exempt from duty, and they had leave to fortify Calcutta, and to erect a mint. The Nabob also engaged to restore all the goods which had been taken, and to make good the value of those which had been destroyed. These terms were very favourable to him, considering that the English were now victorious, but Clive knew that we had broken out in Europe between the English and the French. The French had as many European troops at Chandernagore as Clive had under his command, and he was anxious, therefore, to free himself entirely from the Nabob, before he proceeded to attack the French.

When the news of the war between these two nations reached Calcutta, Clive proposed to the French that there should be a neutrality in India, that is, that neither party should attack the other. The Governor of Chandernagore replied, that he was very willing to agree to the proposal, but that if a French General of superior rank should arrive, he might annul such a treaty, Clive saw that it was impossible to make any arrangement which could be depended on, and that Cal-

cutta could not be safe while the French kept so large a garrison at Chandernagore. He knew that Seraj ood dowa had made peace only through fear, and that he would declare war on the first occasion. Indeed, he had been all along intriguing with the French, and had sent some troops to their assistance. Clive did not, however, like to attack their settlement without the Nabob's permission, but he evaded every request which was made him for leave to do so. Admiral Watson at length wrote him a letter to say that, all the troops which he had expected, were arrived, and that he would kindle such a war in his country, that all the waters in the Ganges would not put it out. This alarmed Seraj ood-dowa to such a degree, that on the 10th March, 1757, he wrote a letter of apology, which ended with these words, 'what-soever you think right, do'. Clive took this for leave to attack the French, and immediately marched up his army by land to Chandernagore, while Admiral Watson proceeded up the river with his ships, and anchored them off the town. Clive exerted himself with his usual bravery, but the capture of the place was owing mainly to the fleet. It was the severest struggle in which the English had yet been engaged in India. The place fell after a siege of nine days. It has been frequently hinted that the loss of Chandernagore arose from treachery, and that the English corrupted the French soldiers or officers. This report arose from



the following circumstances The French Governor, to prevent the progress of the English ships, had blocked up part of the river by sinking boats, but had left one narrow channel open, which was known to but few One Terreneau, an Officer in the French Service, disgusted for some cause with Renand, the Governor, went over to Clive and pointed out the channel to him This man afterwards made a little money in the English Service, and sent some of it home to his aged father in France, but he returned it with contempt, as coming from a traitor This so affected Terreneau that he hung himself with his own handkerchief at his own door

By the treaty made with Serajood dowlah the English were permitted to erect a mint and a fort These privileges they had been seeking in vain for more than sixty years, for the old Fort of Calcutta, which was so easily taken by the Nabob, had been erected in silence and secrecy Clive lost no time after the treaty in putting up a fortification which no Native army should be able to take He accordingly began the present Fort, in the year 1757, and pushed it on with vigour When the plan was laid down, he had no idea of the sum which it would cost, but having once begun it, could not make any alteration in it, though it was found gradually to cost two crores of Rupees A mint was also erected in the same year, and the first English coin of Bengal was struck on the 19th August, 1757

Clive, having now established the English interests by force, saw clearly that they could be maintained only by the same means. He perceived from the beginning that the English could not stand still, but must go forward. He was anxious that the French should not again obtain a footing in Bengal. Bussy, a French Commander in the Deccan, had made large conquests and acquired much power. While Serood dowlah was pressing friendship to the English, he was inviting Bussy to come up and attack them, and some of his letters were intercepted by Clive. He had been humbled by the English, and he could, therefore, never forgive them. His passions burst out from time to time with great fury. One day he would threaten to impale Mr Watts, the Resident at his Court, the next day, he would send him an honorary dress. One day he would tear up Clive's letters in a rage, the next, he would send him a humble apology. The English felt there could be no security for them, while this headstrong youth continued to govern Bengal. While they were turning over in their own minds what they should do to secure themselves, some of the officers of the Nabob's court addressed them. He had estranged their minds from him by his caprice and cruelty, and they saw that their honour, their property, and even their lives were in constant danger. They had the previous year leagued together to place Sokut Jung on the throne,

in that hope they were disappointed. They resolved, however, at all hazards to depose Seraj-ood-dowla, and they sent secretly to ask the assistance of the English. As the Hindoos have an idea that it was their Zemindars who invited the English to take the country and deliver them from Seraj-ood-dowla, it is necessary here to state in the most positive terms that not one of the Zemindars of Burdwan, or Nudder, or Ryshabhye, or any other district had any share in this revolution. How could they? they were mere collectors of revenue. The prime movers were the powerful Setts, the imperial bankers, Meer Jaffer, the treasurer of the army and a commandant in it, with Omiehand and Khoya Wazeed, both wealthy merchants. It was these men who besought Clive to bring up his English troops, to depose Seraj-ood-dowla, and place Meer Jaffer on the throne. The English saw, therefore, that there would be a revolution, even without them, and that if they aided it, they might obtain advantages. The Members of Council, who were almost all weak men, hesitated to join the confederacy. Even Admiral Watson thought it a very bold step, for those who had hitherto been humble traders, to march up and depose the ruler of the country. But Clive had a strong and daring mind, and difficulties only served to increase his ardour. He earned on a secret negotiation with the Nabob's officers during the months of April and May,

through Mr Watts, the Resident at Moorshedabad, so secretly, that Seraj-ood-dowla never suspected it,—but once And then he called Meer Jaffer, and made him swear on the Koran, that he would be faithful to him When every thing was ripe for action, the plan was nearly defeated by Omichand He was a man of vast wealth, but of still greater avarice. He had been promised five per cent on all the money which might be acquired, but not content with this, he came one evening to Mr Watts, and said, that unless he was promised in writing thirty lakhs of Rupees more, he would go instantly and discover the whole plot to the Viceroy This would have led immediately to the slaughter of Mr Watts and of all who were engaged in it Mr Watts endeavoured to soothe the traitor to gain time, and wrote off without delay to Calcutta. Clive was confounded at the news He looked on Omichand as a public enemy, who was endeavouring to extort money by villainous means, and he thought that any artifice to defeat his villainy, was just He ordered Mr Watts to make the promise He drew up a double treaty, in one of which the thirty lakhs were promised to Omichand, in the other, they were not The former only was shewn to him, and it served to quiet his mind An arrangement was now made with Meer Jaffer that he should separate his troops from those of his Master, and join the English as they advanced

Every thing being ready, Clive wrote a letter to Seraj-ood-dowla, recounted the injuries he had done the English, and charged him with having violated the treaty. He stated that the compensation he had promised had not been paid, and that he had invited the French to come in and expel the English. He ended by saying, that he was coming in person to Moorshedabad to submit their differences to the judgment of the chief men of the Court. The Viceroy was alarmed with the style of this letter, and still more with the news that Clive was advancing, and he marched down with his army to Plassey. Clive set his troops in motion early in June, 1757. On the 17th they reached Cutwa, and the next day invested and took the Fort. On the 19th the rains set in with great violence. Clive was in doubt whether to cross over and fight the Nabob or to return; for there was no sign of Meer Jaffer, and not even a letter from him. He called a council of war, and they determined against fighting. Clive at first approved of their judgment, but after having weighed the matter closely, he resolved to hazard all, and engaged. He saw well that if he should now turn back after having advanced so far, the interests of the English would be ruined in Bengal. At sunrise, on the 22d June, the army began to cross the river, and the troops were all landed on the opposite bank by four in the afternoon. They marched on without halting, and at one in the

morning of the 23<sup>d</sup>, reached the grove of Plasser-  
 dawned Clive looked out with anxiety for Meer  
 Jaffer and his troops, but still there was no ap-  
 pearance of them. The Nabob, whose army amount-  
 ed to 15,000 horse and 35,000 foot, remained in  
 the rear in his tent, surrounded by flatterers,  
 while Meer Muddun pushed on the battle. Meer  
 Jaffer, who was there with his troops, did not en-  
 gage. About mid day a cannon ball struck Meer  
 Muddun, and carried away his legs. He was con-  
 veyed into the Nabob's tent, and expired in his  
 presence. The Nabob was now thoroughly al-  
 larmed and began to suspect all his servants of  
 treachery. He sent for Meer Jaffer, and placing  
 his turban at his feet, begged in the most abject  
 manner, that for the sake of his grandfather, he  
 would forgive him and stand by him in the hour  
 of need. Jaffer promised to be faithful, and as a  
 proof of it, advised the Nabob to recall his troops,  
 as the day was far advanced. To-morrow, said  
 he, with the blessing of God, we will draw up the  
 troops together, and prepare for the battle. Mo-  
 hun Lal, the Nabob's General, was fully engaged  
 with the English when he received orders to fall  
 back, which he obeyed with reluctance. His re-  
 treat damped the minds of the soldiers, and they  
 began to fly in every direction, and Clive thus ob-  
 tained a complete and easy victory. Serajood-  
 dowlah mounted a camel, and marching all night

with two thousand horse, at eight the next morning reached Moorshedabad. He then summoned his Officers and Ministers to attend him, but they departed, each one to his own house, and even his own Father-in-law forsook him. For a whole day he remained almost alone and deserted in his palace, and then took a desperate resolution. In the dead of the night, he placed his consort and some favourites on covered carts, with as much gold and as many jewels as they could contain, and at three in the morning fled to Bhogwangola. There he embarked on some boats and proceeded up the river, intending to join Mr Law, the French General, to whom he had written to come down from Patna.

In the battle of Plassey, which fixed the destiny of India, the English lost only twenty of their European troops, and fifty of their Native Sepoys, in killed and wounded. After the engagement, Meer Jaffer visited Clive, and congratulated him on his victory. They then marched together into Moorshedabad, and Meer Jaffer took possession of the royal palace. The chief men of the city and the officers of state assembled there. A Durbar was held, and Clive, rising from his seat, took Meer Jaffer by the hand, and seating him on the throne, saluted him as Nabob of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. They then proceeded to the treasury, with several European gentlemen, and Ramchand, Clive's Dewan, and Nubukissen, his Moon-

shee, but did not find in it more than two crores of Rupees in gold and silver. But the historian of those times states, that there was an inner treasury kept in the female apartments, which was carefully concealed from Clive's knowledge. In this repository, it is said, that there were not less than eight crores of Rupees in gold, silver and jewels. He informs that Meer Jaffer, Emir beg Khan, Ramchand and Nubukissen, appropriated this wealth to themselves. And this does not appear so very improbable, for Ramchand, who then received only sixty Rupees a month, died ten years after, with a fortune of one crore and a quarter of Rupees, and Nubukissen, the writer, afterwards Rajah Nubukissen, whose monthly salary was not more than sixty, was able soon after to spend nine lakhs of Rupees on his Mother's shraddu

The English had now recovered from their misfortunes. In June, 1756, their factory had been plundered, their trade destroyed, and their officers cruelly murdered, and they had lost all footing in Bengal. By June, 1757, they had not only regained their factory, but defeated their enemy, Serjood dola, and made a Nabob of their own, and their rivals, the French, had been expelled from Bengal. It now remained to make good their losses from the treasury of Moorshedabad. It was agreed that one hundred lakhs should be paid to the Company for the public losses, fifty lakhs to



the English gentlemen who had lost their property by the capture of Calcutta, twenty lakhs to the Natives, and seven, to the Armenians Besides these sums, a large gratuity was paid to the army and navy Nor were the public officers who had raised Meer Jaffer to the throne, forgotten Clive received sixteen lakhs of Rupees, and the other members of Council in smaller proportions It was also stipulated that the English should enjoy all the privileges they had heretofore obtained, that the land within the Alabartra ditch, and six hundred yards beyond it, should belong to them, that the Zemindars of the country south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, should be given to the Company, and that the French should never be permitted to settle in the province

Seraj ood dowlr, after leaving Bhogwangolah, landed at Rajmahal to cook some food for his wife and daughter, near the hut of a fakere whom he had formerly oppressed This man immediately gave information of his arrival to those who were then in pursuit of him, and they came up and seized him He used the most humble entreaties to these men, whom a week before he would scarcely have spoken to, but deaf to his cries, they plundered him of all his gold and jewels, and conveyed him back to Moorshedabad When he was brought to the city, Meer Jaffer had taken his usual nap after a large dose of opium His son, Meer-run, one of the most profligate men of the age,

hearing that Seraj ood dowa was come, ordered him to be confined near his own apartment, and in an hour or two proposed to his friends to go and murder him, but they one and all refused. At length a wretch of the name of Mahmedy beg, who had been bred up by Aly Verdy Khan, offered to do the bloody deed. As soon as he entered the room, the unfortunate Prince, knowing his errand, exclaimed in a tone of remorse, I must die to atone for Hussein Kooley Khan's murder. He had no sooner pronounced these words, than the assassin lifted his sabre, and cut him down. He fell dead after repeated strokes, exclaiming with his last breath, Hussein Kooley Khan is now avenged. After his death, his body was haked to pieces, thrown carelessly across an elephant, and carried through the crowded streets of the Capital, to the burial ground. It was remarked at the time, that the driver, having occasion to stop for some purpose or other, the elephant stood on the very spot where, eighteen months before, Seraj ood-dowa had butchered Hussein Kooley Khan, and that some drops of blood from his own mangled carcass fell on the very ground where he had shed innocent blood.

## SECTION XIII

The authority of Meer Jaffer was acknowledged at once throughout the three provinces. But it was very soon perceived that he had no talent

for business, and that he was weak, cruel and rapacious. His first wish was to plunder the Hindoo officers of government who had amassed wealth under the former Viceroy. He cast his eyes upon Rayah Roy Doorlub, the Prime Minister, who not only possessed great property, but had an army of his own, consisting of six thousand men. This able man had been amongst the most active of those who placed him upon the throne. When the conspiracy had been formed to dethrone Seraj ood-dowla, it was Roy Doorlub who proposed to the conspirators that Meer Jaffer should be made Nabob in his stead, yet Meer Jaffer now sought his ruin. So great was the hatred he had conceived of him, that upon a suspicion that he was friendly to the younger brother of Seraj-ood-dowla, he put the young and innocent prince to death, and it was only by throwing himself upon the protection of the English that Doorlub escaped destruction. Rayah Ramanarayan had long been Deputy Governor of Behar, and the Viceroy determined to remove and plunder him, and to give the governorship to his own brother, who, according to Clive, was a greater fool than Meer Jaffer. Rayah Ram-sing, the Governor of Madrasore, was also alienated, because the Viceroy had thrown his brother into confinement. Rayah Adal-sing, the Deputy of Dacca, through the evil counsels of the court, broke out into rebellion. This was the moment when Jaffer's rebellion, three years before, had been put down.

as many provinces He was obliged to have recourse to Clive, to whom every one in Bengal now looked up with confidence And this confidence was not ill placed, for he quelled the three rebellions without shedding one drop of blood. At the earnest entreaty of the Nabob, he marched with the English troops to Moorshedabad on his way to Patna The sums which the Nabob had agreed to pay the English, had been in great part, withheld Clive, on his arrival at the capital, stated that some arrangement must be made for liquidating them, and the Nabob gave him an assignment on the revenues of Burdwan, Nuddea and Hooghly After this matter was settled, the Native and the English army marched towards Patna Ramdayun threw himself upon Clive, and assured him that if he could obtain the protection of the English, he would remain faithful to his master Clive used every argument to lead the Nabob to receive his submission, and at length succeeded Ramdayun immediately came into the camp, paid his respects to Meer Jaffer, and was confirmed in his government Clive and the Nabob now returned together to Moorshedabad, with Roy Doorub, who thought himself safe only while the English were present Meerun was enraged at this termination of the affair His object, and that of his Father, was to humble and plunder the powerful Hindoos, but the journey had ended in confirming their power They both naturally felt umbrage at

the authority of Clive Jaffer, though nominally the Soobadar of the three provinces, was in reality nothing, Clivo was every thing. The chiefs to whom the English, two years before, had humbly offered money for saying a good word to the Nabob, were now obliged to court them. The Alahomedans also perceived that the wise Hindoos had left off paying court to the powerless Nabob, and followed Clivo with their requests. But he behaved with so much wisdom and moderation, that as long as he was at the head of affairs, matters went on smoothly.

A new enemy now appeared on the confines of Bengal Shah Allum, the son of the unfortunate Emperor of Delhi, had quarrelled with his Father, and forming a league with the Soobadars of Allahabad and Oude, came down with a rabble of soldiery to invade Behar. The object of the two Soobadars was not so much to assist the Prince, as to see whether they could not obtain for themselves a share of the Lower Provinces. The Prince wrote letters to Clive to offer him province upon province, if he would assist his views, but he replied, that his faith had been pledged to Meer Jaffer. On the other hand, the Emperor wrote to Clive, ordering him to seize his rebellious son, wherever he could be found, and to deliver him up Meer Jaffer's troops, who were mutinous for want of pay, were in no condition to meet this invasion. He applied anew to Clive, reached

up with speed to Patna, in 1758. But before his arrival, the affair was already settled. The Prince and the Soobadar of Allahabad invested Patna for nine days, and would probably have taken it, but, on the one hand, they heard, that the English were approaching, on the other, that the Soobadar of Oude, taking advantage of the absence of the Soobadar of Allahabad, had treacherously seized his Capital. On the receipt of this intelligence, he left the Prince to shift for himself, and hastened to defend his own dominions, but he perished in the conflict. The Prince's troops now deserted him rapidly, and he had soon but three hundred men to follow his fortunes. He was reduced to such distress, that he sent to beg alms of Clive, who generously sent him a thousand goldmouburs Meer Jaffer being thus delivered from his fears, made Clive an Omrah, as a token of gratitude, and granted him as a jaygeer, the quit rent which the Company had agreed to pay for the Zemindary of Calcutta. It was said to have been worth three lakhs of Rupees a year.

Soon after these transactions, Meer Jaffer paid a visit to Clive at Calcutta, where he was received with the highest honours. While he was residing there, a large Dutch armament, consisting of seven ships, and containing fifteen hundred troops, anchored at the mouth of the river. It was soon discovered that they had not come without the consent of the Nabob. He had been for some time

intriguing with the Dutch at Chinsurah, with the hope of bringing in a body of European troops, who might counteract the influence of the English. These intrigues were carried on by means of Khoya Wajeed, a Cashmere merchant, who had received many favours from Aly Verdy Khan. He enjoyed the monopoly of salt, and was so rich, that his expenses were a thousand Rupees a day, and on one occasion he was able to present the Nabob with a huzur of fifteen lakhs of Rupees. He had formerly been the Agent of the French at Moorshedabad, but when their prospects were ruined by the capture of Chandernagore, he went over to the English. Though he had the confidence of Seraj ood dowlah, he was one of the most active of those who invited the English to depose him. After the revolution, he found that his hopes from the English were not fulfilled, and hence he determined to bring a large Dutch force into Bengal to oppose them. There were at that time two parties in the Council at Chinsurah, at the head of one was Mr Bisdorn, the Governor, a friend of Clive's, and who was very anxious for the continuance of peace. At the head of the other was Mr Vernet. His party, which bore the sway at Chinsurah, was very violent. The English, for their own security, had just before prevented the Dutch from having their own pilots in the river, they therefore wrote to Batavia, and asked for a

large force, hoping to turn the troubles of the country to their own account

Olive was placed in a great dilemma by the arrival of this force. The English and the Dutch were at peace, and his own European troops were not more than a third to those which the Dutch had now under their command. He acted, however, with his usual vigor and fearlessness, and it was on this occasion that he said, that the public officers of Government in India must often act with a rope about their necks. After having destroyed the French interest in Bengal, he was resolved not to allow the Dutch to acquire strength. He demanded that Meer Jaffer should instantly order the Dutch troops to depart. The Nabob said he would go up to Hoogly and settle the business himself. But after he had arrived there, he wrote Olive a letter to say, that he had made an arrangement with the Dutch, and that their ships would go away soon as the season would permit. Olive easily saw through this artifice, and he determined that the Dutch vessels should not come up the river. He strengthened the works at Tanja, below Calcutta, but was still resolved not to strike the first blow. The Dutch vessels came up to the Fort, and immediately commenced an attack, but were repulsed. They then dropped down and landed seven hundred European and eight hundred Malay troops, who marched up by land on the right bank of the river towards Chinsurah.



Clive had previously sent up his little army under Col Forde, to take post between that place and Chandernagore. The Dutch army advanced, and encamped two miles south of Chinsurah. Forde, knowing that the two nations were at peace, wrote for a distinct Order in Council before he attacked them. Clive received his letter while he was playing at cards. Without quitting the table he wrote this reply in pencil, ' Dear Forde, Fight them immediately, I will send you the Order in Council to-morrow.' Forde no sooner received this order than he fell upon the Dutch forces, who were routed in half an hour. About the same time the ships which had come into the river, were captured by the English, and the enterprize ended in smoke. Just as the battle near Chinsurah was over, Prince Alagum arrived with six or seven thousand horse, with which he would certainly have joined the Dutch, had they been victorious, he now joined the English in the pursuit of them. Col Forde, immediately after the battle, invested Chinsurah, which could not long have held out, but the Dutch hastened to make an apology to Clive. They agreed to pay the expenses of the war, and he released all their ships. Soon after these events, he embarked for England, in February, 1760, rich in glory and in money, but with a constitution impaired by the great labours of three years. He left the Government in the hands of Mr Vansittart

The country was far from being in peace. The old Nabob, Meer Jaffer, had resigned the power of the Government into the hands of his son, Meerun. He disgusted all the public officers by his insolence, and the people by his oppressions, while his cruelties made the country forget the crimes of Serraj-ood dowlah. The son of the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Allum, was encouraged by the general discontent, to march a second time in to Behar, and Kadim Hussein Khan, the Governor of Poorneah, prepared to join him with his troops. As soon as the Prince had crossed the Kuinmassa, the boundary line of Behar, he heard that the Vizier of the Empire, the cruel Imad ool-moolk, had put his father to death. By this event he became Emperor of Hindoostan, and appointed the Soobadar of Oude the Vizier of the empire. But he was an Emperor without power or subjects. Even his capital was in the hands of his enemies, and he was little better than a fugitive in his own dominions. He marched down upon Patna, and the brave Ramnarayan put it in a state of defence, and wrote to Moorsshedabad, earnestly entreating that troops might be sent to his assistance. Col Calliaud, who had succeeded to the command of the army, immediately set out with his English troops, accompanied by Meerun, and the Nabob's soldiery. This odious wretch had already put to death two of his own officers, and cut off the heads of two of the women of his seraglio.

with his own sabre The two daughters of Aly  
 Verdy Khan, Ghesity Begum and Aman Begum,  
 the widows of Newash Mahomed, and of Syud  
 Ahmed, had been for some time living in obscur-  
 ity at Dacca. Just as Meerun set out for this expe-  
 dition, he sent orders for them to be put to death.  
 The Governor of Dacca refused to imbrue his  
 hands in their blood, on which Meerun sent one  
 of his own servants, with orders to put them into  
 a boat, on pretence of conducting them to Moor-  
 shadabad, and to sink them and the boats. These  
 orders were faithfully executed. Just as the mur-  
 derers were pulling out the plugs to sink the ves-  
 sels, the youngest sister exclaimed, 'Oh! God Al-  
 mighty, we are both sinners and outcasts, but we  
 have committed no sin against Meerun, on the  
 contrary, he owes to us every thing in this world.'  
 Meerun, on his departure, entered in his note book  
 the names of three hundred individuals whom he  
 intended to put to death on his return, but he  
 never returned

Col. Gallaud had requested Ramanarayan by no  
 means to engage the Emperor till he could come  
 up. But he neglected this advice, went out and  
 fought the enemy, and was completely defeated.  
 Patna was now defenceless, and the Emperor  
 might have taken it at one blow, but he spent his  
 time in ravaging the country. Meanwhile Cal-  
 hand arrived with his troops and proposed to fall  
 on the enemy immediately, but Ironun said

stars would not be favourable before the 22d February. On the 20th, the Emperor attacked the united army. Meerun's fifteen thousand horse were soon broken and fled, but Col Callaud made a steady and bold attack, on the Emperor, and speedily routed his troops. That same night Shah Allum broke up his camp and retired to a place ten miles from the field of battle. He was now advised by his General to make a sudden march through the hills, and to take Moorshiedabad by surprise. The march was performed with rapidity, but Meerun had already sent a swift boat to inform his father of the danger. The Emperor soon after emerged from the hills, thirty miles from the Capital, but, instead of instantly attacking it, lingered about the country, till Col Callaud had marched down in pursuit of him. The two armies were now encamped within sight of each other, and the English offered battle to the Emperor, but he took a sudden panic, and marched back to Patna, to which he laid close siege. The Governor of Pooreah, Kadim Hussein Khan, at the same time offered to assist the Emperor, and set his army in motion. The Emperor continued to attack Patna for nine days, and it appeared certain that the city must fall into his hands, when Capt Knox arrived with a few troops in Patna. He had been sent up by Col Callaud, and had marched from Burdwan in thirteen days. During the night he expected the enemy's position, and the next day fell

on them when they had retired to their afternoon nap. The Emperor's troops were completely defeated, and he set his camp on fire and took to flight. A day or two after, Kadam Hussain Khan came up to Hayspore with the troops of Poornah, amounting to sixteen thousand men, and prepared to attack Patna. Capt Knox, with a very small force of European and Native troops, not exceeding a thousand men, crossed the river and gave him a complete defeat. This was one of the most gallant actions fought in this war, and gave the Natives the highest opinion of the English. It was on this occasion that Rajah Setabroy so distinguished himself by his bravery, as to acquire their highest praise. After the defeat, the Governor of Poornah set off to join the Emperor, and Col Callaud and Meerun, having now come up, followed his steps. The rains had just set in, but the English Commander determined to continue the pursuit. On the night of the 2d of July, 1760, a violent thunder storm occurred, and while Meerun was employed hearing stores in his tent, the lightning struck him and two of his attendants dead. Col Callaud was obliged by this circumstance to give up the pursuit and to return to Patna, where he put his troops into quarters for the season.

Meerun, though profligate, was the main stay of his father's government. This villainous and weak old man, according to the Hindoos, was

torian of the times, now lost the little reason he had ever possessed. The administration fell into disorder. The troops surrounded the palace and became clamorous for their arrears. Meer Cossim, the son-in-law of the Nabob, came forward and promised to satisfy them from his own purse. The English had an expensive war on their hands, with no funds to meet it. The large sums they had received, came unexpectedly, and were spent without thought. They applied to the Nabob, but his treasury was empty, and they were reduced to the necessity of borrowing. It was evident that this state of things could not last. The Nabob had sent Meer Cossim on a mission to Calcutta, where his talents became known to Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings, who now directed the affairs of the Company. A second mission became necessary, Meer Cossim was again sent, and the Governor was confirmed in the idea that he was the only man who could restore the affairs of Bengal. He proposed to invest him with the office of Deputy Nazim of the Provinces, and to this Meer Cossim readily agreed. Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings now proceeded to Moorshedabad with a body of troops, and made the proposal to Meer Jaffer, but he was very reluctant to agree to it. He knew that, in this case, all power would immediately pass to his son-in-law, and that he should become a mere puppet in his own court. Mr. Vansittart, on seeing the Nabob's reluctance,

hesitated, and Meer Cossim threatened to go over and join the Emperor, for he well knew that after having gone so far, he could never remain in safety at Moorshedabad. Mr Vansittart was therefore obliged to act with vigor, he ordered the place to be occupied with English troops, and Meer Jaffer, on seeing this, submitted. He was offered a residence either at Moorshedabad or Calcutta. He felt, that if he remained at Moorshedabad, he should be a cypher where he had been chief, and that he should be exposed to the insults of his own son-in-law, he chose, therefore, to retire to Calcutta. He had taken into his seraglio a common dancing girl, who entirely governed him, and who afterwards became so famous, under the name of Munny Begum. This woman and Meer Jaffer, says the Mahomedan historian, before their departure, went into the inner apartments, and took away those matchless jewels which had been collected at Moorshedabad by so many Princes, after which they proceeded with a guard of honour to Calcutta.

## SECTION XIV

Meer Cossim became the Soobadar of Bengal and Behar by the election of the English, on the 4th of March, 1760. In gratitude for this service, he made over to the Company the district of Burdwan, and he gave the Members of Council at Calcutta twenty lakhs of Rupees, which they ac-

among themselves. He was a man of great talent and energy. As soon as he was seated on the throne, his first step was to make up a true account of all the sums which he had engaged to pay to the English, to Meer Jaffer's troops and servants, and to his own, he then took measures for discharging them. He reduced the expenditure of his court, he looked carefully into the accounts, and having found out what sums the officers had taken to themselves in Meer Jaffer's lazy reign, caused them to be refunded. He not only made the Zemindars pay up all arrears, but he formed a new valuation of the estates. The revenues of the two provinces before his time had been fixed at 1,42,45,000 Rupees a year, he raised them to 2,56,24,000. In fact, he assessed the country far beyond what it was able to bear. By these means his treasury was soon filled, and he was enabled to discharge all arrears. His own troops were regularly paid up, and were thus brought under his control. Though he had been raised to power by the English, his chief aim was to render himself independent of them. He felt that though he was the acknowledged Nabob, yet those who had set him up, enjoyed all real power and influence in the country. He knew however that he could never deliver himself from the power of the Council of Calcutta, but by force, hence he turned his attention to the improvement of his army. He dismissed all soldiers who were not fit



for service. He disciplined his troops after the model of the English. He placed at the head of his army an Armenian, born at Ispahan, in Persia, named Gurgin Khan, or Gregory Khan. He was a man of very unusual talents. He was originally only a seller of cloth, but having a great military genius, was taken into Meer Cossim's service, and he steadily pursued the plan of making his Master independent of the English. He manufactured muskets, he cast cannon, he trained up artillery men, and the army he commanded was the best which any Native Prince in Bengal had ever possessed. In order to mature his plans far from the eye of the English, Meer Cossim took Moorshedabad, and made Alomghir his capital. It was there that his Armenian General established his gun manufactory, and the reputation which this town still enjoys for its muskets, is to be traced to the young Gurgin Khan, who was then little more than thirty years old.

As soon as the rains of 1760 were over, Major Carnac advanced against the Emperor, who still hovered over the borders of Behar, and completely defeated him. After the battle, Carnac sent Rajah Setabroy to offer him peace, to which he very readily consented, and the English General paid his respects to him in his camp. When Meer Cossim heard of this intercourse between the English and the Emperor, he became alarmed, and went in haste to Patna, to prevent himself to

himself Major Carnac begged him to wait on Shah Allum, but he was too proud to do so, and it was at last arranged that the two parties should meet in the English factory. A temporary throne was erected, and there the Emperor of Hindoostan, the descendant of Timur, a fugitive in his own dominions, took his seat. Meer Cossim entered with the usual ceremonies, and the Emperor invited him with the Subadary of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and he promised to pay twenty-four lakhs of Rupees a year of tribute. The Emperor then set out towards Delhi, and Carnac accompanied him to the banks of the Kurumassas. On taking leave of him there, the Emperor offered to grant the English the dewanny of the three provinces, whenever they might desire it. It ought to be noticed, that though Orissa had been separated from the other provinces in 1755, and made over to the Maharras, yet the district north of the Soobunrekha, was on that occasion retained, and was dignified with the name of Orissa.

Cossim Ally had brought all the Zemindars of the country into complete subjection, except Ramnaryun, the Governor of Patna. He was reputed to be rich, but he was under the protection of the English. He had not settled his accounts for three years, but it must be remembered that during this period, Behar had suffered not a little from hostile armies. The Nabob affirmed that he could not pay up the arrears due to the English,

till Ramarayan had paid his balances. There were at this time two parties in the Council at Calcutta, the one opposed to Meer Cossim, the other, at the head of which was the Governor, Mr Vansittart, favourable to him. The English party at length prevailed. The English troops were recalled from Patna, and Ramarayan was left to the mercy of the Viceroy. He lost no time in seizing and imprisoning him. His servants were put to the torture to tell where the treasure was concealed, and yet there was not found a larger sum than was necessary for the current expenses of the government. This was one of the greatest errors in Mr Vansittart's government, because it destroyed the confidence which the natives had in the protection of the English.

Hitherto Meer Cossim had managed the government with great success, but we have now to describe how he fell, through the rapacity of the Company's servants. In India, a large portion of the public revenue arose from the duties which were levied on articles passing from one part of the country to the other. This was a barbarous mode of raising a revenue, because it interrupted trade, but it was in full play at this time, and was not abolished even by the English, before the year 1835. When the English Company obtained the privilege of trading, upon the payment of a *pescazi* of 3000 Rupees a year, their goods were exempted

from these duties The President of Calcutta signed a *dustuck*, and when it was shewn at the toll houses, the Company's goods were allowed to pass free This privilege included only the public trade of the Company But when the English had set up a Nabob of their own, and become powerful in the country, the Company's servants, both civil and military, began to engage in private trade While Clive continued in the country, they paid the same duties as the Native merchants But when he was gone home, and the Council had set up a second Nabob, they became still more powerful, and resolved to trade without paying any duties at all Their power was so great in Bengal, that the Viceroy's servants dared not oppose them They went on from bad to worse, their Gomastas stuck up an English flag wherever they chose, and oppressed both the Native merchants, and the officers of Government Every man with a *dustuck* signed by an Englishman, considered himself as great as the Company itself When any opposition was made, the European gentlemen sent sepoy and seized the Nabob's officers and confined them Whenever any private boat wished to pass goods without paying duty, the boatman hoisted a Company's flag The authority of the Nabob's government was destroyed, the Native merchants were ruined, and the English gentlemen made very large fortunes The revenues of the Viceroy were also diminished, for

not only did the English pay no duty, but even man who called himself their servant, cheated the public revenue in their name Meer Cossim made many complaints to the Council about these grievances, and threatened at length to throw up the government if a stop was not put to them

Mr Vansittart and Mr Hastings encouraged to remove these evils, but as the other members of Council were making fortunes by these abuses, all their efforts were useless. At length matters came to such a pitch, that the Comartas of the English obliged the Natives to buy and sell at their own prices. Meer Cossim now began to consider the English in the light of his enemies, and there was ever prospect of war between the two parties. To prevent this, Mr Vansittart paid him a visit in person at Monghir, and was cordially received. When he came to business, Meer Cossim complained bitterly of the oppressions of the English Company's servants, and of the injury the country suffered from the free trade. Mr Vansittart endeavoured to soothe him, and proposed that both the Natives and English should pay the same duty, viz. nine per cent on the transit of all goods. He told the Viceroy that he had no power to make such an arrangement of himself, without the Council in Calcutta, but that he would advise them to adopt it. The Nabob very reluctantly agreed to this, but said, that if this step did not

cure the evil, he would abolish all duties, and put the Natives and Europeans on the same footing Mr Vansittart hastened to Calcutta to propose this measure in Council, Meer Cossim, not waiting for their consent, immediately sent orders to all his officers of customs, to levy nine per cent on all the English trade. The English refused to pay it, and put the Native officers under arrest. The chiefs of the various factories also left their stations, and came down in haste to Calcutta. Mr Vansittart's proposal about the nine per cent duty, was rejected with scorn by all, except Mr Hastings. They all declared that they would only pay a duty of two and a half per cent on the article of salt. Meer Cossim was at this time absent on an expedition to Nepal, in which he did not succeed. On his return, he heard that the Council had refused to pay the duties, and had seized his officers. He immediately put his threat into execution, and abolished all duties throughout Bengal and Behar. The Members of Council were incensed beyond measure at this, they maintained that the Nabob ought to exact the old duties from his own subjects, and to allow the English to trade free. The debate grew warm. Mr. Hastings said, that there was no reason why a sovereign Prince, like Meer Cossim, should not do good to his own subjects. Mr. Batsou, the chief of the factory at Dacca, said, that this language was more fit for an Agent of the Nabob than for a Member of Council.

Hastings replied that none but a rascal would hold such language. Such was the temper in which the Council discussed this important business. It was resolved at length to send Mr Amyatt and Mr Hay to Meer Cossim to insist on his laying the former duties on the Native trade. On their arrival, they had several interviews with him, and it appeared at first that matters might be settled, but the conduct of Mr Ellis, the chief at Patna, the most violent of all the men in the service, destroyed all hopes of peace. The Nabob dismissed Mr Amyatt, but detained Mr Hay, as a hostage for his own officers who were in custody. As soon as Mr Ellis thought Mr Amyatt was out of the Viceroy's reach, he surprised and took the city of Patna. But his own soldiers became drunk, and fell into disorder, and a large body of the Viceroy's troops coming up, the town was re-taken. Mr Ellis, and all the Europeans were placed in confinement. When Cossim Aly heard of this attack at Patna, he saw that war was inevitable, he ordered all the Europeans at the out-factories to be seized, and Mr Amyatt to be stopped on his return to Calcutta. That gentleman was passing Moorshedabad when the orders reached the commander of the town, who sent for him, but as he refused to obey, a scuffle ensued, and Mr Amyatt was killed. The great bankers of the house of August Set, at Moorshedabad, were supposed to be friendly to the English, Meer Cossim, therefore,

ordered them to Monghir and placed them under restraint

When news of Mr Amyatt's death, and of the

confinement of Mr Ellis and his companions reached Calcutta, the Council determined on instant war Mr Vansittart and Mr Hastings la-

boured to dissuade them from it, till the gentlemen at Patna were out of Meer Cossim's hands, but in vain The English army was ordered by the ma-

jority to take the field At the same time, they determined to raise Meer Jaffer again to the

throne, on his agreeing to allow the old duties to be imposed on the Native trade, and the private

trade of the European gentlemen to be exempt The old man, seventy-two years of age, and scarce-

ly able to move for the leprosy, left Calcutta and went up with the English army, which now set out

for Moorshedabad.

Meer Cossim had taken every pains to dis-pline his troops, and they were certainly the best

which any Native Prince in Bengal had ever pos-sessed His General-in-Chief, Gurghin Khan, the

Armenian, was a man of great military talent, still, however, the war did not last long Owing to dis-

cord among the Viceroy's Generals, his troops were defeated on the 19th July, 1763, at Cutwa, on the 24th the English stormed the lines at Mooty-jeel, and took Moorshedabad On the 2nd August,

another battle was fought at Geriah, near Sooty, in which Meer Cossim's army was again beaten



He had thrown up a strong entrenchment at Od-wa-nul, near Rajmahl, and thither his troops now retreated. During these transactions he had remained at Alonghir, he now resolved to join his army of Odwa. But before his departure he put to death all his Native prisoners. Rajah Ramnarayan, the former Governor of Patna, is said to have been drowned in the river with a bag of sand. At the same time he put to death Rajah Rajbulub, the former deputy Governor of Dacca, with all his sons, including, we suppose, Kissenadas, whom we have already mentioned, the Roy Royan, Rajah Omwed Sing, Rajah Booned Sing, Rajah Ruteel Sing, and many others. The two wealthy bankers, the Setts, were likewise brought out and thrown from a tower of the fort at Alonghir into the river, and the boatmen, as they passed along, continued long after to point out the spot where the unfortunate men perished. After having committed all these murders, Cossim Aly went to join his army at Odwa. Early in October the English attacked his camp and deserted him. A day or two after his defeat, he retired to Alonghir, but finding that he could not withstand the English army, which was in pursuit of him, he fled with his troops to Patna. The English gentlemen who had fallen into his hands, he dragged along with him. The second day after leaving Alonghir, his army reached the banks of the Rerwah. Suddenly there was a great commotion in his camp, every one

appeared eager to cross the river, and some men were seen carrying a dead body across the fields to be buried. On being questioned, they said it was the body of the General-in-Chief, Gurgin Khan, it was the Nabob's pleasure. It appears that towards the close of the day, three or four Moguls rushed into his tent and put him to death. It was given out that they went to demand their arrears, and on the General's driving them away, drew their swords and fell upon him. But there were no arrears due, for they had been paid up only nine days before. It is almost certain that they were sent by Cossim Ali to assassinate his General, Gurgin Khan. He had a brother in Calcutta, the well known Khoya Petroos, who was an intimate friend of Mr Vansittart and Mr Hastings. Petroos wrote privately to Gurgin to entreat him to leave the service of the Nabob, and, if possible, to seize his person. The Nabob's head spy discovered the correspondence, and, at one in the morning, waked his Master and told him that his General was a traitor. Within twenty-four hours after, Gurgin, the Armenian General, one of the greatest men of that age, was a corpse.

Meer Cossim now fled in haste to Patna. Monghir fell into the hands of the English, and he found that he must leave Patna likewise, and quit the country. His rage against the English now knew no bounds, and he resolved before he left Patna, that all his prisoners should die. He order-

ed his officers to go to the house where they were confined, and put them to death "Turn them out with arms in their hands," they replied, "and we will fight them, but we are not executioners, we will not butcher them in cold blood." The Nabob next ordered one of his European officers, Sumroo, to despatch them. This wretch had been a Sergeant in the French service, and now served Meer Cossim. He readily undertook the work. He proceeded with a file of soldiers, who fired upon those defenceless men, and put them all to death, with the exception of Dr Fullarton. Forty-eight English gentlemen and a hundred and fifty soldiers fell in this massacre at Patna. Sumroo afterwards served various Princes, and at length obtained the principality of Sirdhana. Among the gentlemen who perished were, Mr Ellis, Mr Hay, and Mr Lushington, all Members of Council. On the 6th of November, 1763, Patna fell into the hands of the English, and Meer Cossim fled to the Soobadar of Oude, and thus the war was concluded in about four months. The next year, on the 22d October, the English General met the troops of Oude at Buxar, and completely defeated them. The arrangement which was made with the Vizier after the victory, does not belong to the history of Bengal. It is sufficient, therefore, to say, that he at first gave an asylum to Meer Cossim, but afterwards plundered him of his treasures, and allowed him to escape. But the Nabob never troubled Bengal again.

Meer Jaffer, after having been raised a second time to the throne of Bengal, found it impossible to pay all the sums which he had promised the English. He was now very much advanced in life. His disease gained ground on him, and he expired at Moorsshedabad in January, 1765, at the age of seventy four. It was the province of the Emperor to appoint his successor, but that Prince was without any authority, and had not the means of reaching his own capital. The English, therefore, did as they pleased. The members of Council received large sums of money from Nujum-ood-dowla, the son of Meer Jaffer, by Muny Begum, and made him Nabob. With him they formed a new treaty, they took the military defence of the country into their own hands, and obliged him to appoint a Naib Nazim to manage the civil and criminal affairs of the state. He begged that the profligate Nundu Koomar might be put into this post, but the Council flatly refused him. Mr Vansittart even wrote a long minute, stating all the crimes of that Native, and left it for the guidance of future Governors. Muny Begum Reza Khan, who was a relative of Aly Verdy Khan, was appointed to the office.

## SECTION XV.

When the Court of Directors heard of the disorders, which had arisen from the evil conduct of their servants in India, of the war with Meer

Cossim and the Vizier, and of the massacre at Purna, they became very much alarmed. They feared lest the country, which they had just acquired, should be lost, and they thought no one was so likely to save their conquests as he who had made them. They, therefore, begged Clive, who had been created a nobleman by the King, to go out and retrieve their affairs. Though the Directors had not treated him after his arrival in England as he deserved, and had even seized his jagheer, he agreed to proceed to India. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief and Governor of Bengal, with full powers to act. The Directors informed him that the trade of their servants, the cause of so much misery, must be closed. During the last eight years, in which one Nabob after another had been set up, their servants had received presents from the Natives to the extent of more than two crores of Rupees, they resolved that such presents should cease. They ordered that all their servants, civil and military, should execute covenants, and bind themselves to pay all presents they might receive, above 4,000 Rupees, into the public treasury, and that they should receive no present above 1,000 Rupees without the leave of the Governor.

Such were the instructions with which Lord Clive was sent out to India. He landed in Calcutta on the 3d of May, 1765, and found that the dangers which had alarmed the Court of Direc-

tors, were blown over. But he found also that the  
 government was in the utmost disorder. No man,  
 not even the Members of Council, sought the good  
 of the Company, the object of every one in the  
 service was to amass a rapid fortune, by whatever  
 means, and to return speedily to England. In-  
 justice prevailed in every department, the Natives  
 had been oppressed, till the name of European  
 struck in the nostrils of the people. There was  
 neither honour nor honesty in the government.  
 The Court of Directors in the preceding year, had  
 positively ordered that their servants should take  
 no more presents. When these orders arrived,  
 the old Nabob, Meer Jaffer, was on his death bed.  
 The Council did not choose to enter the orders on  
 the Council books, but on his death made a new  
 Nabob, and took enormous presents from him. In  
 the same letter the Court had ordered that the  
 private trade of their servants should cease. In  
 the face of these orders, the Council made a treaty  
 with the new Nabob, which provided that they  
 should all trade as before, duty free. Clive, im-  
 mediately on his arrival, determined to carry the  
 orders of the Directors into execution. The Coun-  
 cil endeavoured to bully him, as they had done  
 Mr. Vansittart, but Clive was made of different  
 stuff. He insisted that they should all sign the  
 covenants against taking presents, and those who  
 refused, he immediately dismissed. Some signed  
 them, others who had gained, as they thought,

enough out of the country, returned home, but all became his enemies

On the 24th of June Clive left Calcutta for the Western Provinces, determined to make peace, for the war was eating up all the revenues. A new treaty was made with Nizam-ood-dowla, by which the management of the country was made over to the English, and fifty lakhs of Rupees a year were allotted for the support of his Court. This sum was to be expended with the advice of a council, consisting of Mahomed Reza Khan, Rajah Door-jub Rani, and Jugut Sett. Soon after a treaty was made with the Nabob of Oude. But the most important event of this journey, was the acquisition of the DEWARAN of the three provinces for the Company from the Emperor. We have already stated, that he had offered to give it to the English whenever they should require it. Clive met him at Allahabad and asked the fulfilment of his promise, it was granted without hesitation. On the 12th August, the Emperor invested Lord Clive with the DEWARAN of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, on behalf of the Company, and he promised to pay two lakhs of Rupees a month out of the revenues to the Emperor. It is worthy of remark that, as the Emperor was a fugitive in his own dominions, he had no state pagantry with him. Two English dining tables were therefore joined together and covered with embroidery to serve for a throne. On this the Emperor took his seat, and

made over thirty millions of his subjects with two crores of annual revenue to the English. The Mahomedan historian observes on this event, that a business of such importance, which at other times would have required the sending of wise Ministers and able Envoys, and much discussion was done and finished in less time than would have been taken up in the sale of a jackass, or a herd of cattle. This was the most important event which had happened to the English since the battle of Plassey. By that battle they became in reality the masters of the country, but the Natives still considered them only as conquerors. By this gift of the Emperor, they became legally possessed of the provinces in the eyes of the people, and the Nabob of Moorsheadabad became a cypher. On the 7th September, Clive returned to Calcutta. The private trade in which the servants of the Company had been engaged, was the source of very great evils. Repeatedly had the Court of Directors ordered that it should cease, but their servants had always evaded these orders. Their last instructions were a little ambiguous, and as Clive saw that the pay of the Civil Servants was very miserable, and that it would be made up by improper means, he resolved to continue the trade, but on a better principle. He formed a Commercial Society, which was to carry on a trade in salt, betlenut, and tobacco. A large duty of 35 per cent. was to be paid to the Company's trea-



and the profits were to be divided among the whole service, civil and military. The Members of Council were to receive the largest share, and those below them in smaller proportions. When he informed the Directors of this plan, he recommended them to increase the salary of the Governor, so that there should be no necessity for him to have any thing to do with trade, but this wise counsel was not adopted till fifteen years after. As soon as the Directors heard of this new Society, they condemned it in very severe language. They blamed Clive for having set it up, and ordered that it should be dissolved, and that none of their servants should touch the internal trade of the country.

The great expenses of the government in India had hitherto swallowed up all the revenues. Though the Company nominally enjoyed a large income, they were constantly in debt. Their own servants, whether European or native, plundered them without mercy. When Lord Clive was asked in England how it happened that the Company, with such an income, was always poor, he replied, that every one who was allowed to make out a bill against them, made a fortune. But the chief source of expense was the army. While the English troops had been employed in fighting in the Nabob's name, he allowed them a gratuity, which was called double batta. This large allowance they had so long received, that they at length

came to consider it as their right Clive saw that unless the military expenses of the country could be reduced, there never would be any surplus revenue. He knew that any plan of reduction would be violently opposed, but he was a man of the firmest mind, and at once issued orders that the double battle should cease. The military officers took great offence at this. They said, that the country had been conquered by their arms, and that they ought to benefit by the conquest, but Clive was inflexible. He was prepared to give them a liberal allowance, but was still determined that the expenses of the army should be lessened. The officers now formed a conspiracy among themselves to oblige him to yield to their views. They carried on a secret correspondence with each other, and resolved, one and all, to lay down their commissions on the same day. As soon as the officers of the first brigade had thus resigned the service, intelligence was conveyed to Clive, and it embarrassed him not a little. He suspected that there was a general confederacy throughout the army. He had passed through many scenes of trouble, but this was the most severe trial he had yet met with. The Mahattas were preparing to invade the country again, and the English army was without officers. Clive, however, acted with his usual energy. He ordered up officers from Madras. Some of the Bengal officers who had not gone so far in rebellion as

the rest, retracted. The ringleaders were seized, dismissed the service, and sent back to England. By this severity, he reduced the army again to obedience, and thus delivered government from the greatest danger which it had ever felt.

Lord Clive had now been twenty months in India. He had restored order to the Company's affairs. He had reduced the expenses, and by obtaining the Dewanny, had increased the income to nearly two crores of Rupees a year. He had subdued a most formidable rebellion in the army, and brought it into a good state of discipline. In these various labours, his health had greatly suffered, and he was obliged to return to England. He embarked in February, 1767, that is about ten years after he had first landed in Bengal. In these ten years, he may be said to have founded the British empire in India. By his reforms he had made many enemies, and some of them had returned to England with large fortunes, and got into power at the India House. On Clive's return to England, they attacked him both in Parliament and in the Court of Directors, with much bitterness. He experienced the utmost ingratitude from all parties in the state, and he, who had founded this vast empire, was himself worried to death by the malignity of his foes. He died a violent death, on the 22d November, 1774.

The English had now acquired the Dewanny, that is they had obtained a grant of all the reve-

nucs of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, but they did not know how to manage them. The Company's European servants had been hitherto engaged in trade, public or private, and knew little or nothing about matters connected with the land revenues. The former Soobadars had left these affairs in the hands of Hindoos, because they were so patient, and so able in accounts. Not only were the English ignorant of the country they had gained, but all the Native officers used every means in their power to prevent their knowing any thing about it. They were obliged therefore to allow every thing to remain on the old footing. Rajah Setabroy was appointed the Dewan of Behar, and resided at Patna. Mahomed Reza Khan was Dewan of Bengal, and resided at Moorsheadabad. Such was the government which existed for nearly seven years, till the year 1772, when the English took the management of it into their own hands. During this period, there could scarcely be said to have been any government at all. The Zemindars and the people did not know whom to obey. On the one hand, the administration of justice was nominally in the hands of the Nabob and his Ministers, but the English throughout the country were so powerful, that the Native Officers could not control them. On the other hand, the Government of Calcutta had no authority by Act of Parliament to punish any one for any crime beyond the Maharratta ditch. Nothing could exceed the con-

fusion and misery which prevailed through the country for the first seven years after the English had obtained the Dewanny

The disorders of the Government during this time, gave great encouragement to robbers. Every Zillah swarmed with bands of dacoits, and no property was secure. To such an extent was gang robbery carried, that when the Company took the Government into their own hands in 1772, they were obliged to pass the severest laws. They ordered that the dacoit should be taken to his own village and there executed, that his family should become the slaves of the State, and that the whole village should be fined, each inhabitant according to his means.

It was chiefly during these years of anarchy that

the rent-free tenures were created. The revenues of Bengal, though they had been made over to the English by the Emperor, were collected at Moorshedabad and not at Calcutta. The Khalsa or exchequer was there. The revenue affairs of Bengal were managed by three Natives, Mahomed Reza Khan, Rajah Doorab Ram and Rajah Kunt Sing, the brother of the celebrated Gunga Govind Sing. They made all engagements, they collected, and they remitted the rents. By their connivance, the Zemindars, who were merely the head collectors of the revenue, made away with the rent of nearly forty lakhs of begas by giving them to brahmins, and thus deprived the English Government of be-

tween thirty and forty lakhs of Rupees a year, before its eyes were open. Through these peculiarions of the Zemindars, and the roguery of the officers of the Khalsa at Moorsheadabad, the English Government in India, with a revenue of two crores of Rupees a year, was always poor and in debt.

Mr Verelst succeeded Lord Clive as Governor of Bengal in 1767. The year after, the final orders of the Court of Directors were received for abolishing the trade of their servants in salt and other commodities. They directed that the internal traffic of the country should be left entirely to the Natives, and that no European should engage in it. But as the salaries of their European officers were very small, the Directors gave them, in addition, two and a half per cent on the land revenues, this sum they ordered to be divided, in proportion, among their civil and military officers. But after the departure of Lord Clive, the affairs of the Company again began to go wrong. Large as the public income in India was, the expenditure was still larger. The deficiency in the treasury became every day more alarming. On making up the accounts in October, 1769, the Governor of Calcutta found that a large debt had been incurred; and that it was necessary to borrow more. The plan of raising money was this, the Governor received into the treasury at Calcutta the fortunes which the Company's servants had made, and gave



and. He died of the small pox in 1770, and was succeeded by his brother, Alabarik-ood-dowlah. The Council in Calcutta made the same allowance for the support of his Court which they had made for that of his predecessor, but the Directors ordered it to be cut down to sixteen lakhs of Rupees a year.

The year 1770 is memorable in the annals of Bengal, for the great famine which desolated it. It is impossible to describe the sufferings of the poor, but the reader will form some idea of them when he is told, that one third of the population was swept away by it. It was in this year also that the Directors ordered two Councils of Revenue to be established, the one at Moorshedabad, the other at Patna, to consist of civil servants. Their business was to collect information, regarding the revenue and to watch over the receipts. But the management of the revenue was still left in the hands of Natives, in those of Mahomed Reza Khan, at Moorshedabad, and of Rajah Seetabroy, at Patna, and every paper regarding the land bore their seal.

Mr Verelst resigned his situation of Governor in 1769, and was succeeded by Mr Cartier. But the affairs of the Company had now been brought to the verge of ruin, by the weakness of the Calcutta Government, and it was determined to send out three gentlemen, namely, Mr Vansittart, the former Governor of Calcutta, Mr Sutherland, and



Col Forde, to reform all abuses, and to reduce the expenditure. But they never reached India. The ship in which they embarked was never heard of after it had double the Cape, and it is supposed to have perished at sea, with all who were on board.

## SECTION XVI

Mr Cartier resigned the Government in 1772, and was succeeded by one of the greatest men ever employed by the Company in India, Mr Warren Hastings. He came out in the Civil Service in 1749, at the age of eighteen, and immediately began to study the languages and the politics of the country with great diligence. In 1757, though then only twenty-six years of age, he was appointed by Clive, Resident at the Durbar at Moorshedabad. This was at the time the most important post, next to that of the Governor himself. When Mr Vansittart succeeded to the Chair in Calcutta, Mr Hastings was the only man in whom he put any confidence. In December, 1761, Mr Hastings came into Council in Calcutta, and alone supported Mr Vansittart against the opposition of the other members. He was uncorrupted amidst the general depravity. While his Colleagues were making long detours by pulling down one Nabob and setting up another, he was never suspected of being tainted by any thing. Indeed, when he was going home

with his friend Vansittart in 1765, he was so poor that he was obliged to borrow of strangers a small sum of money which his own agent, Khojra Petros, had refused to lend him. In 1770, he was sent out as second in Council to Madras, and effected such great reforms as to obtain the highest praise of the Directors. When the Governor's post in Calcutta became vacant, they thought they could not give it to a more worthy individual than to Mr. Hastings, and at the age of forty he became Governor of Bengal.

The Directors were by this time thoroughly disgusted with the management of the land revenue by Natives. They found their income gradually decreasing, and they now determined, seven years after they had obtained the Dewanny, to "stand forth as Dewn," that is, to take the management of the revenues into their own hands, and to make the collections through their European servants. This new arrangement was to be carried into effect by Mr. Hastings. He took his seat as Governor on the 13th April, and on the 14th May the Council issued a Proclamation that they would manage the revenues themselves, that the European officers who collected the revenues, should be denominated Collectors, and that the land should be let for a few years. They ordered that a Committee, consisting of four Members of Council, should go through the country to make settlements. The Committee began their labours at Kisbagnahur,

but the rent offered for the lands was so low, that they resolved to put them up to auction. When-  
 ever the old Zemindar or Talookdar offered a rea-  
 sonable sum, he was continued in possession,  
 when he offered too little, he was dismissed with  
 a pension, and some one placed in his room. At  
 the same time, the Khalsa or exchange was re-  
 moved from Moorsheadabad to Calcutta that it  
 might be under the eye of the Governor. These  
 alterations made it necessary also to alter the ma-  
 nagement of the Civil and Criminal business of  
 the country. Two Courts were established in  
 each district. In the Criminal Court sat the Col-  
 lector with the Caze and Mooftee, in the Civil  
 Court sat likewise the Collector, assisted by the  
 Dewan, and other officers. Two Courts of Appeal  
 were at the same time established in Calcutta, the  
 Sudder Dewanny, for Civil, and the Sudder Niza-  
 mut Adawlut, for Criminal causes. The *chout*, or  
 the fourth part of the amount of every cause  
 brought into Court, which the Judge had hither-  
 to received, was abolished, heavy fines were for-  
 bidden, and the power which a creditor had of  
 confining his debtor at his own will, was taken a-  
 way. All Civil causes under ten Rupees were re-  
 ferred to the head farmer of each pargannah  
 This was the first attempt made by the English in  
 Bengal to govern it upon their own plan  
 The Directors attributed the loss of their re-  
 venues in Bengal to the evil practices of Ma-

homed Reza Khan From the time of his obtaining office, they had regarded him with suspicion They did not forget that when he held the chukla of Dacca under Meer Jaffer Ali, there was a deficiency of many lakhs of Rupees He was charged by some with having monopolized grain for his own profit in the great famine of 1770 He was suspected not only of having secreted the public revenue, but of having oppressed the people While he held his post at Moorsheadabad, he was the first man in Bengal, as Naib Subadar, he had the entire management of the revenue, as Naib Nazim, he had the entire charge of the police The Directors knew that while he enjoyed such power, no one would come forward to accuse him They sent out orders that he should be put under arrest, and sent down with all his family to Calcutta, and that all his papers should be seized Mr Hastings had taken his seat in Council only ten days, when these orders reached him late at night The following morning, he wrote to Mr Middleton, the resident at Moorsheadabad, to send Mahomed Reza Khan to Calcutta He was accordingly put on board of boats with all his family, and Mr Middleton took charge of his office A member of Council was deputed to wait on him on his arrival at Chitpore, and to explain the reason of this conduct Mr Hastings also wrote to him to say that as he was the servant of the Court, he must obey their orders, but that as a private indi-

vidual, he would give him every proof of his attachment

As there were the same suspicion of misconduct respecting Ragh Setbiroy, the Nab Dewan of Behar, he was likewise brought down to Calcutta. His examination was soon completed. Nothing was found against him, and he was acquitted with honour. The Alibomedan historian of the period, however, though he praises his administration, states that like all other Natives in high power, he extorted large sums from the people under his charge. To make him some amends for the injury he had received in being brought down as a culprit, the Council bestowed an honorary dress on him, and made him the Roy Royan of Behar. But the disgrace which he had suffered, broke his heart. Of all the Natives who had been employed by the English, Setbiroy had always been held in the highest esteem. To be deprived of his government and sent to Calcutta, and there to be put on his trial for alleged crimes, was what his spirit could not brook. On his return to Patna, he pined away and died, and his son, Rajah Kullian Singh was immediately invested with his office. It is to Setbiroy that Patna is indebted for the noble grapes for which the place is so celebrated. It was he who first introduced the culture of the vine, and also that of the musk-melon into that province.

The trial of Mahomed Reza Khan was more

prolonged The infamous Nundu Koomar was set up to accuse him, and as there was no villainy with which he was not familiar, it appeared at first as if the accused would be found guilty After an investigation, however, which lasted two years, he was declared innocent, but he was not restored to the public service On his removal from Moorshedabad, his office in the Nizamut was divided The care of the Nabob's education was entrusted to Munnee Begum, the expenditure of the funds was entrusted by Mr Hastings to Gooroodass, the son of Nundu Koomar The majority of the Council objected not a little to this appointment, saying that Gooroodass was very young, and that to appoint him, was to appoint his father, whom the English never could trust, but Mr Hastings would not yield to their advice, and he subsequently paid dearly for this act of favour to the family

The affairs of the Company in England had now come to a crisis Great as the mismanagement had been in India during five years, between the departure of Lord Clive in 1767, and the appointment of Mr Hastings in 1772, the conduct of the Directors in England had been still worse At the time when the Company was all but insolvent, it was determined to give a dividend of *twelve and a half* per cent to the proprietors of their stock, which would scarcely have been right if their affairs had been in the most flourishing condition After this act of folly, when the Directors came to

look into their treasury they found that it was empty. They were obliged therefore to borrow of the Bank of England, not forty lakhs of Rupees, and then twenty lakhs more, and at last to go to the King's Minister for a loan of a crore of Rupees.

When the wretched state of the Company's affairs was made public, Parliament determined to call it in hand, for hitherto it had never looked into Indian matters. A Committee was appointed to examine into the abuses which had been committed by the Company's Government. After their report had been given in, the Ministry perceived that nothing but a radical change could save the Company from ruin. They brought forward several proposals for reform, in Parliament which the Directors resisted with all their might, but their misconduct had been so plain, and had so disgusted all men, that in spite of all the opposition, Parliament supported the plans which the Minister proposed. The whole spirit of the government of India was now changed both at home and abroad. Some alterations were in the manner of choosing the Directors, by which many evils which had occurred in England were corrected, and it was ordered that six Directors should go out of office every year, and six be chosen in their room. It was also ordered that the Governor of Bengal should be the Governor of India, and that the

should be subject to him in political matters. As there had been frequent disputes about power between the Governor and the members of Council, it was settled that the Governor General should be the sole Governor and Commander of Fort William. The Governor General, the members of Council, and the Judges were forbidden to trade, and hence his salary was fixed at two lakhs and a half of Rupees a year, and that of the Councillors at eighty thousand. It was also ordained that no person in the service of the Company or of the Crown should receive presents. All the correspondence from India which related to the government of the country, the Directors were ordered to lay before the King's Ministers.

Regarding the administration of justice, it was provided that a Supreme Court should be established in Calcutta, to consist of a Chief Justice at eighty thousand Rupees, and three Puisne Judges at sixty thousand Rupees a year. The Judges were to be independent of the Company, and to be appointed by the Crown, and the Court was to administer British Law to British subjects. It was ordained that this Act, which was the first passed by Parliament relative to Indian affairs, should come into operation on the 1st of August, 1774.

After this arrangement had been completed, the attention of the Governor of Bengal, as Governor General was extended to all India. But as we are writing only an epitome of the History of



Bengal, we shall mention chiefly those events which had reference to this kingdom. For the conquests which were made under the direction of the Governors General in various parts of Hindoostan, from time to time, the reader is referred to the History of India.

Mr Hastings had managed the affairs of Bengal with so much ability, that he was appointed the first Governor General. But notwithstanding his talents and his success, great prejudices existed against him in England, and he was considered by those who knew nothing of the state of affairs, as a man of the worst principles. The new Councilors, who were appointed to the Supreme Council to act with him, were Mr Barwell, of the Civil Service, who was in India, and Colonel Monson, Sir John Claverug and Mr Francis, who had never been in this country. These three gentlemen came out with their minds strongly prejudiced against Mr Hastings, and were disposed to look with an evil eye upon all his measures. As soon as he heard of their arrival at Aladras, he wrote to them to bespeak their confidence. The senior member of Council was deputed to meet them on their arrival at Kedgeeree, and one of the Governor General's own staff was sent down to welcome them. When they landed in Calcutta, they were received with higher honours than had been paid to Lord Clive, or Mr Vansittart, with a salute of seventeen guns, and all the members of Council

were assembled to receive them, but then vanity was not satisfied. They complained to the Court of Directors that proper honours had not been paid them, that the troops were not drawn out to receive them, that a sufficient salute had not been fired, that they were received at Mr Hastings's house, and not in the Council Chamber, and that the new Government, of which they formed a part, had not been proclaimed with sufficient pomp.

The three members of Council reached Kedgee on the 14th October, but they were five days in getting up to Calcutta. On the 20th, the first meeting of Council was held, but as Mr Barwell had not arrived, it was determined simply to proclaim the new Government, and to put off business to the following Monday, the 24th. When the Council met, Mr Hastings placed before his Colleagues, who were quite new to the affairs of India, a view of the state of the Company's affairs in every branch of public business. But in this first meeting, those disputes broke out which distracted the Government of India for nearly seven years. Mr Barwell alone sided with the Governor General, the other three members invariably voted against him upon every question, and as they formed the majority, the Governor General became a mere cypher, all power was in reality transferred to their hands. The measures which they adopted were dictated by their dislike of Mr Hastings, and partook far more of passion than

of reason. Indeed it is a matter of astonishment, that in the six years which elapsed between the operation of that new plan of Parliament, and 1750, the divided government of India did not go to pieces altogether. Two days after the meeting of Council, the majority determined to recall Mr Middleton from Bouchon, whom Mr Hastings had sent there as the Resident, and to make heavy demands on the Nizam, contrary to all the suggestions which Mr Hastings had made with him. He begged them to pause, he begged that such a step would do infinite mischief, because it would proclaim to the world that there was a division in the government. He said that the Natives had already considered the Governor as the Head of the Government, and that when they saw him without power, they would naturally suppose there was a revolution. But the Council and their conduct throughout was marked by much ignorance and littleness of mind.

The Natives were not slow to remark the disputes in the Council, and to see that Mr Hastings, who was lately supreme, had no longer any power. Every man, therefore, who was displeased with any decision he had passed, went with his complaint to Mr Francis and his Colleagues, and was heartily received. The Range of Burdwan, the widow of Jibuk Chund came down at this time to Calcutta with her son. She was immediately put

up to send in a petition, stating that since the Rajah's death she had disbursed nine lakhs of Rupees in bribes among the English, and their servants, and that of this sum Mr. Hastings had received 15,000 Rupees. He demanded to see the accounts in Bengalee and Persian, but she would produce none. The bestowal of honours had hitherto been the province of the head of the Government Mr. Hastings's opponents, determined to hold him up to contempt, bestowed a lhat on the young Rajah with their own hands. Rewards were now held out to all who would accuse Mr. Hastings, and informers were brought from all parts of Bengal. Accusations came in thick and fast. One Native presented a petition, stating that the Fouzdar of Hooghly received a salary of 72,000 Rupees a year, of which he paid 36,000 to Mr. Hastings, and 4,000 to his Dewan. The petitioner offered to do the duty for 32,000 Rupees a year. Even this stupid charge, which any man who knew the native character could see through, was received. Evidence was taken, the majority of the Council said it was complete, the Fouzdar was dismissed, and the office, upon the reduced salary, was given, not to the informer, but to another. In a month, another charge was brought on, that Alunee Begum had not accounted for nine lakhs of Rupees. When pressed, she said that a lakh and a half of Rupees had been paid as entertainment money to Mr. Hastings when he

went up to instal her Mr Hastings said, that the sum had been received and expended by him on the public account, and that the Company had been saved that amount He also stated, that the Nabob of Bengal always received 1,000 Rupees a day for his expenses, whenever he visited Calcutta. Mr Hastings's explanation was not satisfactory, but there is no reason to believe that the money was spent on any other than on a public account

As it was now seen that any accusation would

be received, even the infamous Nundu Koomar brought up a complaint against Mr Hastings He affirmed, that the Governor General had received three lakhs and a half of Rupees for the appointment of Alunnee Begum, and of his own son Gooroodass, to the Nabob's household at Moorshedabad Mr Francis and his party proposed that Nundu Koomar should be brought forward in the Council to give evidence Mr Hastings replied, that he would not allow this man to come to the Board at which he presided as his accuser

He said he would not degrade the office of Governor General in the eyes of all India by such base submission, but he offered at the same time to refer the whole question to the Supreme Court Mr Hastings then rose and quitted the Council, and Mr Barwell followed him Mr Francis and his party, on their departure, called in Nundu Koomar, who read a letter, which he said had been

written to him by Munnee Begum regarding the bribes she had given. A comparison was made between this letter, and one which she had written to Government, and which Sir John D'Oyly produced. The seals agreed, but the hand writing was not the same. After Nundu Koomar's death, the secret of this villainy was revealed. In his possession were found facsimiles of the seals of all the great personages in Bengal. There can be little doubt that the letter was a forgery, and that the seal was affixed to it by Nundu Koomar, and not by Munnee Begum. The Council, however, voted that Nundu Koomar's charge was true, and ordered that Mr Hastings should refund the money, which he, of course, refused to do. While this affair was pending, Mr Hastings brought an action for conspiracy against Nundu Koomar in the Supreme Court, and the three Members of Council to shew their dislike of the Governor General, went in a body to visit that Native, a step which had never yet been taken in India. It was in this manner that Mr Francis and his party continued for several years to thwart Mr Hastings, and to embarrass the Government of the country.

A few days after Mr Hastings's charge against Nundu Koomar, a Native of the name of Komalooddeen, brought an action against him in the Supreme Court, for having forged his name to a deed Nundu Koomar was found guilty, and hung

in the month of July, 1775 The Natives were thunderstruck when they saw one of the greatest men in India, and a Brahmin, hung in the city of Calcutta It was the first time in which a Native of rank had ever been executed by the English It is said that more than a hundred thousand of his countrymen surrounded the scaffold To the last, they believed that there was no intention of putting him to death, but when they saw him actually executed, they ran down with one accord to the river, to wash out the pollution The death of Nundu Koomar has been charged upon Mr Hasings, because it was believed that he supported the prosecution But the fact is, that it was the act of the Supreme Court, and this was one among the complaints which were made against that tribunal some years after There can be no doubt that Nundu Koomar was one of the most infamous characters among the natives The Governor of Bengal had, one after the other, declared him to be unworthy of trust He had been discovered in a treasonable correspondence with the enemies of the English, and since the battle of Plassey had been constantly intriguing with every party, still he died unjustly The crime for which he was condemned in the Supreme Court, had been committed four years before the Court existed, when he could not have been subject to its jurisdiction The crime, moreover, was not capital by the Hindoo Law He was put to death,

therefore, contrary to reason or equity. But he died enormously rich. In the various posts which he had filled, he had amassed a fortune of more than a crore of Rupees

When the result of the trial of Mahomed Reza Khan reached England, the Directors said that they were perfectly satisfied of his innocence, and of the villany of his accuser, Nundu Koomar. They ordered that Gooroodass should be removed from the Nabob's household, and Mahomed Reza Khan appointed in his stead. The Supreme Council having now found that they had not time to preside in the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut in Calcutta, resolved to return to the old plan, and to put the control of the Criminal Courts and of the Police again under a Native. This Court was, therefore, moved back from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and Mahomed Reza Khan placed at the head of it

## SECTION XVII

The lands had been let in farm for five years from 1772, with the understanding that the rents should be gradually increased. But it was seen, in the first year, that the Zemindars had contracted for more than they would or could pay. The revenue fell greatly into arrears. Upon the whole five years, Government had been obliged to remit a crore and eighteen lakhs, and yet there remained a balance due from the farmers, of another



hundred and twenty lakhs, the greater part of which there was no chance of recovering. Both the parties in Council sent home their own plans for a new settlement, but the Directors rejected both. When the leases expired in 1777, the lands were let by their orders for one year, and this system of farming continued from year to year to the year 1782. The rule adopted for the settlement was, that the average of the three previous years should be taken as the basis, and that in every case the land should be made over to the old Zemindars, where it was possible.

In September, 1776, Col Monson died, and as there remained but two members of his party, Mr Hastings regained his power in the Council, because he had the casting vote.

Towards the close of 1778, the Nabob Mobarak-ood-dolah came of age. He wrote a letter to the Supreme Council, requesting that Mahomed Reza Khan might be removed, because he had always behaved to him with great harshness. He was removed by the advice of Mr Hastings, and his office of Nab Subadar was abolished. The charge of the Nabob's household was at the same time committed to Munnee Begum. This arrangement greatly displeased the Court of Directors. They no sooner heard of it than they ordered the office to be re-established, and Mahomed Reza Khan to be put in it, and, at the same time, discharged

Munnee Begum from her office about the person of the Nabob

This year, 1778, is rendered memorable in the history of Bengal by the publication of the first work which had ever appeared in the Bengalee character Mr N Halhed, a gentleman of eminent talents, had come out in the Civil Service about the year 1770, and applied himself to the study of the native languages. He made such progress in them as no European had ever made before. When, in 1772, the business of the country was transferred to European officers, Mr Hastings thought it necessary that they should be made acquainted with the native laws. Under his patronage Mr Halhed prepared, from native works, a Code of Hindoo and Mahomedan laws, which was printed in 1776. He applied with great diligence to Bengalee, and may be regarded perhaps as the first Englishman who obtained a classical knowledge of this language. In 1778, he published a Grammar of it, the first which had ever appeared. It was printed at Hooghly, for as yet there was no Press in the metropolis. Mr Charles Wilkins, whose name deserves to be immortalized, had previously applied himself to the languages of the country. He was a very ingenious Mechanic, and a man of great enterprise. With his own hands he cut and cast the first fount of Bengalee types which had ever been seen, and

with them was his friend Halhed's Grammar pub-  
lished

The disputes between the Supreme Court and the Government occasioned great misery to the country for several years. This Court was established in 1774, and made independent of the Company's Government. The Judges came out with very strong notions of the oppressions to which the people were subject, and with the idea that the Supreme Court was the best remedy for those grievances. When the Judges landed at Chandpaul Ghaut, and saw the Natives with their legs bare, one of them said to the other, "See, brother, the oppressions to which the people have been subject. The Supreme Court was not established before it was needed. I hope our Court will not have been six months in existence, before these poor wretches will be comfortably provided with shoes and stockings." The power of the Court extended to British subjects, but it is, to Englishmen, throughout India, and to the Natives who resided within the Mahattri Ditch. It was also vested with power over all "persons, either directly or indirectly in the service of the Company, or of any British subject." It was upon this clause that the Court began to interfere with the Natives in the interior of the country, as the Judges maintained, that all men who paid rent were the servants of the Company. It was the fault of Parliament that the powers of the Court

were not better defined, Parliament had created two independent and rival powers in the country, and they soon came into collision with each other. The Supreme Court was no sooner set up, than it began to enlarge its jurisdiction. If any one appeared in it and swore that a Zemindar, residing five hundred miles off, was indebted to him, a writ or *perwannah* was immediately issued, and the Zemindar was brought down and lodged in jail. Often, when he persisted in declaring that he was not subject to the Supreme Court, he was released, but the disgrace he had suffered was not thereby wiped out. The effects of this system were soon apparent. When the ryots, who never pay their rents willingly, saw the Zemindars and farmers dragged down to Calcutta, they refused to pay any rents at all. In the first year of the Court, such writs were sent into almost every Zillah. The greatest alarm spread through the country, the Zemindars saw themselves suddenly exposed to a new and awful danger. Of the law by which they were brought to Calcutta to be judged, they knew nothing, it was foreign to all their habits of thinking and acting.

The Court proceeded to stretch its power so as to affect the collection of the government revenues, which had been entrusted to the Provincial Councils. At this period, the old custom of consigning the Zemindars, when they neglected to pay their revenues, which had existed from the most

ancient time, was still in force. The Supreme Court began to interfere with this process of law. When defaulters were thus confined, they were advised to appeal to the Supreme Court, and they were immediately released on bail. When the Zemindars found that by applying to this Court they could be freed from arrest, they very naturally refused to pay revenue, thus the public collections were almost suspended. The Supreme Court gradually laid its hands on every branch of public business. Causes connected with land were brought into it, and decrees were passed and executed, without any reference to the Zillah Courts. When a farm was sold, because the farmer would not pay the revenue for which he had agreed, the new farmer was brought down into this Court and ruined. When a Zemindar purchased an estate, paupers sued him in the Supreme Court, and often, for legally collecting his rents, he was fined and disgraced.

In the same manner, the Supreme Court extended its power to the Criminal Courts in the interior. These Courts had been left by Government in the hands of the Nabob of Moorshedabad. The Judges of the Supreme Court declared that Alomarik-ood-dowlah, the Nabob, was phantom, a man of straw, that he was no Prince, and that their jurisdiction extended through all his territories. Though he owed no allegiance to the King of England or to his laws, the Court thought

It actually to issue a writ against him. The Judges openly maintained that whatever concerned the government of the country, or the collection of the revenues, was committed to them, and that any one who disobeyed their orders was liable to the severest punishment the law of England could inflict. The Court, they said, was set up to protect the Natives from the injustice and oppression of the Company's servants, and this could not be done, unless it assumed such vast powers. Their object was to make the Supreme Court every thing, the Supreme Government, nothing. To explain these remarks, we cite two cases, the one civil, the other criminal. A wealthy Mahomedan had died at Patna, leaving a widow and a-nephew whom it was said he had adopted. The two parties disputed about the property, and the cause came before the Provincial Court at Patna. The Judges according to the usual mode of procedure, deputed the cause and the mootees to examine witnesses, and to decide the case according to Mahomedan law. They found that the deeds on which the parties relied, were forged, that neither of the two was heir, and that the property must be divided according to the law. On this principle they gave one-fourth to the widow, and three-fourths to the brother of the deceased, the father of the nephew and adopted son. The widow appealed to the Supreme Court. It was a case clearly beyond its jurisdiction, but to bring

it within reach, the Judges said, that the deceased was a renter of public lands, and, therefore, a servant of the Company, and that they had jurisdiction over all public servants

They maintained, moreover, that according to English law, the Provincial Judges of Patna could not depute any one to examine a case. They determined, therefore, to re-hear it, and their decision was in favour of the widow, to whom they awarded three lakhs of Rupees. They did more, they sent up a bailiff to arrest the casee, the mootees and the nephew, with orders not to release them, but on bail of four lakhs of Rupees. The casee was taken into custody as he was returning from his Cutcherry. The Provincial Court was not a little alarmed at the effect which this would produce on the minds of the people. They saw that the authority of Government was gone, and that the administration of justice was at once stopped. To prevent farther mischief therefore, they became bail for the casee. The Supreme Court condemned all those who had judged the cause by the order of the provincial Council, and sent up sepoy to seize them. The casee, an old man, who had long presided in the Courts, died on his way to Calcutta, the mootees were lodged in jail, and remained there no less than four years till they were released by Act of Parliament, then only fault being that they had done their duty. Not satisfied even with this, an action was brought

in the Supreme Court against the Provincial Judge himself, and he was fined 15 000 Rs, which sum was paid from the Company's Treasury

Of the mode in which the Supreme Court interfered with the administration of criminal justice in the country, the following will serve as an example. An Attorney of the Court went and took up his abode at Dacca. A common peon had been prosecuted in the Criminal Court of the city for a misdemeanor. He was convicted, and ordered to be confined till he made restitution. He was told to apply to the Supreme Court, he did so, and one of the Judges issued a writ to arrest the Dewan or principal officer of the Criminal Court, on the ground that he had falsely imprisoned the peon. A Native was sent by the European Attorney to the house of the phouzar, who was seated in the midst of his friends and the officers of his Court. He entered and attempted to seize his Dewan, but was resisted, and obliged to return to his master. The Attorney no sooner heard of this, than he proceeded with a large body of armed men to the house, and endeavoured to enter it by force. The phouzar, seeing this attempt to break into his house, in which the females of his family resided, resisted the entrance. An affray ensued, an attendant of the Attorney wounded the Father of the phouzar in the head, and the Attorney himself, drawing out a pistol, shot the brother-in-law of that officer, though not mortally. Mr Hyde,



one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, on hearing of this event, wrote to the military officer at Dacca, and ordered him to give his assistance to the Attorney. He requested at the same time that the Attorney might be informed that his conduct was highly approved of, and that he would be properly supported by the Supreme Court. The provincial Council at Dacca wrote to the Governor General to say, that all criminal justice was now at a stand, and that after such an outrage, no Native officer could be found to perform his duty.

The Governor General and his Council saw that the power of Government was destroyed by the Supreme Court, but they scarcely dared to resist. The Judges declared that they were Kings' Judges, vastly superior in power to any officer of a Company's Government, and they threatened all who disobeyed their orders with the penalty of treason. But a case at length arose which brought the disputes between the two parties to a point.

On the 13th August, 1779, a suit was commenced against the Rajah of Cossyjoorah, by his Cutchta agent, Cossimath Baboo. A writ was issued against the Rajah, and bail to the amount of three lakhs of Rupees was demanded. To avoid the writ, he fled, and it came back unexecuted. Another writ was then issued to seize his land and all his effects, and the Sheriff sent a Sergeant and sixty armed men to execute it. The Rajah represented that

they came down, beat and wounded his servants, broke open his house, entered his zenana, and plundered his effects, that they then debilitated the place of his religious worship, and stripped it of its ornaments; that they stopped the collections, and forbade the ryots to pay him any farther rent. The Governor General in Council determined now to bestir himself, for if such scenes were allowed, there was, of course, an end to all government. He forbade the Rajah to recognize the authority of the Court, and ordered the military officer at Madnapore to intercept the Sheriff's men. These orders arrived too late to prevent the outrage, and the plunder of the Rajah's house, but the same time party was seized on its return. At the same time the Governor General issued an order to all Zemindars, Talookdars and Chowdries, directing them, unless they were British subjects, or were bound by any particular agreement, not to obey the process of the Supreme Court, and the provincial Chiefs were forbidden to lend a military force to aid

As soon as the Supreme Court heard of the arrest of the Sergeant and his men, the Judges proceeded against the Company's Attorney in Calcutta, because he had given the information which led to the seizure, and they locked him up in the common gaol. The Court at last went to the length of summoning the Governor General and Council at the suit of this Cossimath Baboo, for having or

dered the detention of the officers, but Mr. Hastings replied at once that neither he nor his colleagues would submit to any order of the Court for acts done in their official capacity. This happened in March 1780. In the meantime, petitions were presented to Parliament by the British inhabitants of Calcutta, and by the Governor General in Council, praying for relief from the oppression of the Court. The subject was fully discussed, and a new Act was passed which took away that jurisdiction over the whole country which the Court had been so anxious to obtain.

Before this Act was passed, Mr. Hastings devised means for quieting the Supreme Court, by putting a stop in the mouth of the Judges. He made the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, with an additional salary of 5000 Rupees a month, and 600 Rupees a month for the rent of an office. One of the Puisne Judges was at the same time enriched by a new office at Chinsurah, which, owing to a war with the Dutch, had fallen into the hands of the English. After this we hear no more for some time of the claims of the Supreme Court. About this time, Mr. Hastings made a great improvement in the country Courts. He elected Civil or Dewanny Courts in various Zillahs, to hear civil suits, and ordered the provincial Courts to confine themselves to revenue affairs. The Chief Justice having taken his seat in the Sudder De-

wany Court, drew up certain regulations for the guidance of the Civil Courts throughout the country. These were afterwards increased to ninety, and became the basis of the Civil Code of Lord Cornwallis

When the intelligence of Sir Elijah Impey's appointment reached England, the Court of Directors violently condemned it. They knew that Mr Hastings had agreed to it only to secure peace, but they declared it to be illegal. The King's Ministers recalled Sir Elijah Impey and put him on his trial for having accepted it. The person appointed to prosecute him was Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards Lord Minto, the Governor General of India.

On the 29th January, 1780, the first newspaper ever published in India, made its appearance in Calcutta.

During the next four years Mr Hastings was employed chiefly out of Bengal in managing the affairs of Benares and Oude, in a war with Hyder Aly, the Rajah of Mysore, and in negotiations all over India. His conduct in the Western Provinces was greatly censured in England, both by the Directors and in Parliament. It was even proposed in the House of Commons that he should be recalled for having acted against the honour and interest of England, but the vote did not pass, and he remained at his post. After living made another tour to Oude at the close of 1784,

he returned to Calcutta, early in 1785, made over the keys of the Treasury and of Fort William to his successor, Mr Macpherson, and embarked for England, where he arrived in June

In 1784, the country lost by death one of its

greatest benefactors, Mr Cleveland. He came out young to India in the Civil Service, and was soon after his arrival appointed to the charge of the Bhagulpore district. To the southward of this place, there stretches a chain of hills, inhabited by rude savages, who had been always oppressed by their neighbours. He devoted his attention to their improvement, and did every thing in his power to render their condition happy. In this he was very successful, the face of the country under his management was soon changed, and these people who had been in the habit of coming down and plundering their oppressors, were brought into peaceful habits. The country from the want of cultivation, was unhealthy. Mr Cleveland's health was impaired, and he was obliged to go to sea,

where he died at the early age of twenty nine. The Court of Directors were so sensible of his merits, that they ordered a cenotaph to be erected to his memory, and the poor mountaineers whom he had civilized, begged permission also to build a monument to commemorate his virtues. This is the only instance in which the Natives of the country have raised a monument to the me-

memory of any European

In the year 1783, Sir William Jones came out to this country as one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. As a scholar he had acquired great distinction in his native land. His chief reason for coming to India was that he might be able to investigate the early history, religion and habits of the country. He immediately applied himself to the study of Sanskrit, but found great difficulty in obtaining a Pundit. The brahmins would not communicate a knowledge of their own sacred language and books to the unclean. After long search, he at length obtained a Vidyā, one of the medical caste, well versed in Sanskrit, who agreed to teach him the language, for five hundred Rupees a month. He made such progress in this tongue, as to be able to translate the laws of Manu into English. In the year 1784, he established the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, for the purpose of enquiring into the habits, the language, and institutions of ancient India. A number of individuals who were fond of the same pursuits, joined him in this undertaking, and their researches gave the first idea on these subjects to the European world. Mr. Hastings gave the Society the warmest encouragement, and became its first President. Sir William Jones was one of the most illustrious Englishmen who had ever appeared in India, and his name is held in the highest reverence by the best educated Natives. He died, after having lived ten years in the country, at the age of forty nine.

Mr Hastings had no sooner landed in England, than the Directors, by a public vote, declared their approbation of his conduct. He was not without blame in many of his proceedings in India, but it must be confessed, that he acted with the utmost skill and vigour and that it was he who consolidated the empire which Clive had conquered. Much of the censure which was cast on him, was due to the misconduct of the Natives who were employed by him. Gunga Govind Singh, Canto Baboo, and Dey Singh, were the three men who had the largest power, and made the largest fortunes during his reign. Of these, Dey Singh was, perhaps, the most unprincipled. As one of the farmers of revenue, he acquired a large fortune by oppressing the poor ryots. The unheard-of cruelties which this infamous wretch practised, more especially in Dinagpore, can never be read without a feeling of horror. Of all this Mr Hastings was obliged to bear the blame in England, but in India the Natives knew well how to distinguish between the orders of the master, and the villainy of the servant. During the first six years of his government, he was thwarted by the Members of Council, who did every thing in their power to annoy and insult him. At the same time his authority was nearly subverted by the Supreme Court. But he nobly declared that he would not quit his post, because it was difficult, and he had a spirit and an energy which no

During the latter part of his government, he was engaged in a war with Hider Ali, which eat up the revenues of the country. He was too often in great straits for money, and was sometimes obliged to adopt extraordinary means to obtain it. But on the whole he was a very great man, he is held in the highest veneration by the Natives, and they teach their children to this day to pronounce the name of Warren Hastings with affection.

The affairs of the Company came under the notice of Parliament in 1783, and Mr Fox, the Prime Minister, brought forward a plan for the Government of India. If it had been passed, it would, in fact, have taken the country out of the hands of the Company, but the King of England set his face against it, and Mr Fox lost his place. His successor, as Prime Minister, was Mr William Pitt, then a young man twenty-four years of age, but possessed of the highest talent as a statesman. He brought forward a new plan for the management of this country, which was approved both by Parliament and by the King. Up to this time, the Court of Directors had governed the country, without any control from the King's ministers, but by Mr Pitt's Bill which passed in 1784, a Board of Commissioners, usually called the Board of Control, was set up in order to look into the affairs of India. All the members of this Board were appointed by the Crown, and they had a



right to interfere in all Indian affairs, except in the Company's trade. From this period the government of this country has been conducted in England jointly by the King's Ministers and by the Company.

#### SECTION XVIII

Mr Hastings left the Government in the hands of Sir John Macpherson, but as soon as the Directors heard that he was coming home, they appointed Lord Cornwallis to the united office of Governor General and Commander in Chief. He was a man of very ancient and noble family, of great wealth, and of splendid talents. He had been employed in many public affairs in different parts of the world, and had thus acquired great experience. He reached India in 1786, and his high character and large power, put an end at once to those disputes by which Mr Hastings's Government had been weakened. He governed the country with great success for seven years. He was obliged to engage in a war with Tippoo Sultan, the son of Hyder Ally, the ruler of Mysore. He humbled his pride, and obliged him to sign a treaty, by which he gave up a large portion of territory to the English, and paid a large sum for the expenses of the war.

Great animosity continued to prevail against Mr Hastings in England, and at length on the 13th February, 1788, he was impeached by the

House of Commons at the bar of the House of Lords, of high crimes and misdemeanors. The trial was conducted with unusual pomp. The royal family, the peers, and the peeresses were present, and the ablest men in England appeared before this august assembly as his accusers. His conduct was sifted, as the conduct of no political character was ever sifted before. The trial was spun out by various delays to seven years, and at length on the 23d April, 1795, the Lords, with a very few exceptions, acquitted him of all the charges which had been brought against him.

The great measure which has made the name of Cornwallis so memorable in India, is the Permanent Settlement of the land revenues of Bengal and Behar. The frequent changes which had taken place in the collection of the rents, appeared to the Court of Directors injurious to the country. They supposed, that as nearly thirty years had elapsed since the Dewanny was acquired, their European Officers must be fully acquainted with every particular regarding the land. They argued, that the time had now arrived for making an equitable settlement for a long period, which should be fair both to the people and to the State, and they were very desirous that the rents should be fixed for ever. But Lord Cornwallis found that Government by no means possessed sufficient information on this subject, hence he continued for a while the old practice of annual settle-

ments At the same time he sent a series of questions to all the Collectors, in order to obtain from their replies a more accurate knowledge of the land revenues Their reports were very imperfect, they were drawn up chiefly through means of their Native officers, who made a rich harvest on the occasion But bad as this information was, it was the best that could be obtained, a settlement was, therefore, made for ten years, and it was proclaimed that if the Court of Directors approved of it, it should be made permanent Mr John Shore, one of the most eminent Civil Servants in the Company's employ, was appointed to draw up a minute relative to the revenues, a subject he had most carefully studied Though he was himself opposed to a Permanent Settlement, he gave the most valuable assistance to Government in framing it In this decennial settlement it was fixed, that the Zemindars who had hitherto been only the Collectors of the revenue, should be considered the Lords of the Soil, and that the settlement of the rents should be made with them After all the old rent rolls, which the Native officers had not been able to destroy, had been examined, an average was made of the collections of former years, and the revenue was fixed upon that basis The sayer and all arbitrary collections were at the same time abolished, and a deduction was made to the Zemindar on this account Government likewise declared that

was made independent of the rent free lands, the titles of which they determined to examine in the public Courts, that those which were good should stand, and those which were rotten should be annulled, and the lands resumed. When the whole plan had been submitted to the Court of Directors, they lost no time in signifying their approbation of it, and desired Lord Cornwallis to make it fixed and permanent for ever. A proclamation was made on the 22d of March, 1793, fixing for ever the rent of Bengal and Behar at 3,10,89,150 Rupees, and that of Benares at 40,00,615. There can be no doubt that the permanent settlement has been a great blessing to Bengal, and that the country would never have been in so flourishing a state, if the rents had been, as formerly, liable to variation. But there were two evils attending it. The first, that it was made without a sufficient knowledge of the land and of its value, so that some estates were too highly assessed, while others were rated at a mere trifle. The second, that no adequate provision was made for the protection of the cultivators, many of whom had enjoyed a much longer interest in the land than the Native Collectors, who were now raised to the rank of Zemindars.

The year 1793 is also remarkable in the history of Bengal, as the year in which the laws and institutions of the British Government in Bengal first obtained a fixed form. Lord Cornwallis collected

together all the regulations which had been issued from time to time, and, with sundry additions and improvements, published them in the shape of a code, and they became the basis of all subsequent legislation. The laws of 1793 were drawn up with great simplicity and ability, and reflected the highest credit on the Governor General. They were translated into the Native languages, and widely circulated through the country, so that the Natives to this day, though they are ignorant of many of the later regulations, appear to have those of 1793 by heart, and can quote them at will. They were translated into Bengalee by Mr. Forster, the first Bengalee scholar of the time, who afterwards published the first dictionary of that language, and they were done into Persian by that eminent scholar, Mr. N. B. Edmonstone. It is said that Government was so greatly pleased with his performance, that a donation of ten thousand Rupees was made to him. The form which was given to the Courts of Justice by these regulations, remained for nearly forty years, until it was determined to raise Natives to the highest judicial posts. Lord Cornwallis established five grades in the Civil Courts, the Moonsiff and Sudder Ameen, the Register, the Zillah Judge, the Provincial Court, and the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, which was the last appeal in India. He raised the salaries of all the civil servants of the Company, in order that they might be placed above

any temptation to receive bribes, but at the same time the salaries of the Native Officers in the public service were fixed at the lowest scale. The European Officers in the highest posts had formerly received only a few hundred Rupees a month, they were now advanced to as many thousands. The natives had formerly been in the habit of receiving very magnificent allowances, as in the case of the Fouzdars, who had from sixty to seventy thousand Rupees a year, and in that of the Naib Dewan of the province, who enjoyed no less than nine lakhs, but in 1793, the highest salary given to a Native did not exceed a hundred Rupees monthly. Yet the arrangements made by Lord Cornwallis are justly popular throughout the country. He is considered as the individual who gave the Government a fixed character, and who gave the Natives the great boon of a permanent settlement, and his benevolence and wisdom justly entitle him to that gratitude which he has received from the people. The Court of Directors, to mark their sense of his merits, ordered that his statue should be placed in the India House, and they gave him a pension of 50,000 Rupees a year for twenty years, to commence from the day of his leaving India.

On the 28th of October, Sir John Shore entered upon the duties of Governor General. He came out to India young in the Civil Service, but soon became distinguished for his eminent talent

and his sound judgment. At the period of the decennial settlement, he drew up his celebrated minute on the finances of the country. It was laid before Mr Pitt, the Prime Minister of England, who was so much struck with the profound knowledge and ability displayed in it, that he asked a meeting with the Court of Directors. At this interview it was determined that he should be appointed to succeed Lord Cornwallis. Soon after, he was raised to the dignity of a Baronet. The year after his appointment, India was deprived by death of that upright Judge, and renowned scholar, Sir William Jones, at the age of forty-seven. He was the intimate friend of Sir John Shore, who compiled the well known memorial of his life.

In the year 1795, the Nabob Mobarak-ood-dowlah died, and was succeeded by his son Nazir-ool-Moolk, but the appointment of a Nabob of Moorshadabad was now become a matter of perfect indifference. It is sufficient, therefore, to observe, that the same allowances were continued to the son which had been given to the father. Sir John Shore, who had been created Lord Teignmouth, governed India in peace for five years, and then requested leave to resign his office. No event occurred in Bengal during his administration of sufficient importance to deserve a record, but the close of it was gloomy. The army had begun to show signs of disaffection. Tipoo Sultan, the

chief of Mysore, had opened a correspondence with the French, who were at war with the English, and invited them to send troops to his assistance. He had never forgotten how the English had humbled him in the last war, and he burned to take his revenge on them. He had even formed a hope of being able to expel them altogether from India by the aid of the French. The Court of Directors, taking all these circumstances into view, determined to send out a man of nerve as Governor General. They entreated Lord Cornwallis to undertake the Government of the country anew, and he agreed to their proposal, but while preparations were in progress for his departure, he was appointed Viceroy of Ireland.

The Directors immediately nominated Lord Mornington, afterwards the Marquis of Wellesley, to this high office. His Lordship had been brought up under the care of Lord Cornwallis's brother, and the politics of India had been a favourite study with him. He reached Calcutta on the 18th May, 1798. He had all that foresight, vigour, and determination which was necessary for the crisis. No sooner had he taken the affairs of India in hand, than all those fears which had been felt about the empire, vanished, and every mind was filled with confidence. When he reached India, the public credit was so low, that the twelve per cent loan was at a discount of four per cent, the army was weak and discontented, Scindia



threatened us in the North and Tipoo in the South and the French had been gradually acquiring great influence in India. Ho very soon brought the army into a state of complete order. The French officers, who commanded a large army at Hydrabad, were expelled, the troops they had raised, were disbanded, and an English army was substituted in their stead. War was at once declared with Tipoo, because of all our enemies he appeared to be the most ripe for action. The Madras Council, however, instead of seconding Lord Wellesley's views, became refractory. Without any loss of time he proceeded in person to Madras, and chiding them for their conduct, assumed the entire direction of affairs himself. A British army was suddenly assembled, and on the 27th of March, 1799, began its march against Tipoo. So rapid were its movements that his capital, Seringapatam, fell on the 4th of May, into the hands of the English. Tipoo was found among the slain, and thus ended the reign of Hyder's family. The Court of Directors, on hearing of this brilliant campaign, bestowed a pension of fifty thousand Rupees a year on the Governor General.

In October, 1799, the first Protestant Missionary establishment in Bengal was formed at Serampore by Dr Marshman and Mr Ward, and their colleagues Dr Carey, who had come out to India six years before, and had resided in the district of Malda, came down immediately and join-

ed them, and these three men formed what is so well known as the Serampore Mission, the chief object of which was the propagation of the Christian religion in India. They immediately set up a printing office, and having found the Native who had assisted Mr Charles Wilkins in cutting his Bengalee types, employed him to prepare founts of nearly all the Native characters, they published the *Alphabharut*, the *Ramayun*, and many other works in Bengalee, and gave the first impulse to the cultivation of this language. They engaged in the translation of the Scriptures into the Bengalee, the Sungskrit, and other languages of India. They established the first Bengalee schools, under European direction, and all these labours they not only undertook without reward, but devoted their own large income to the promotion of them. The Bengalee language is more indebted to their exertions than to those of any other individuals, and the first movements towards the civilization and improvement of this country may be said to have taken their rise at Serampore.

Lord Wellesley, finding the Civil Servants imperfectly acquainted with the languages of the country, established the College of Fort William in Calcutta in the year 1800. All Writers on their arrival from England were placed in this institution, and no appointment was given them till they had passed an examination, and were re-

ported to be qualified for the public service. Able pundits were retained, and various works in Bengalee and other languages were compiled and printed, and thus a new impulse was given to the improvement of the country. The learned Mr. tuncuy, Native of Orissa, was appointed chief of the Native department, and reflected high honor on the institution by his great talents. When the Court of Directors were informed of the establishment of the College, they approved of its principle, but said it was on too large and expensive a scale, and they ordered it to be reduced. It continued, however, for many years to furnish good scholars to the service, and to keep up the study of the Native languages. Among the earliest efforts by which the Bengalee language was brought out into use, and improved, we must reckon therefore the establishment of the Serampore Mission, and that of the College of Fort William, in which Dr. Carey was the Professor of that tongue.

In 1803, Lord Wellesley found himself forced into a war with Scindia and Holkar. It did not last long. Both these powerful chiefs were defeated and humbled, and no small portion of the dominions was annexed to the British empire. In the month of September, the British for the first time took possession of Delhi, the ancient capital of the Mahomedans. The Emperor, who had been all treated by the Marattas, fell into their hands.

and they re-established him in his dignity of Emperor, though without the power, and gave him a pension of fifteen lakhs of Rupees a year. At the same time disputes commenced with the Rajah of Nagpore, and Lord Wellesley immediately sent an army into Orissa. The Mahattras retired, and on the 18th September, 1803, the temple of Jugunnath was taken by the English troops, and the whole province of Orissa was annexed to Bengal, forty-eight years after it had been ceded to the Mahattras in the last year of Aly Verdy's reign. The priests at Pooree were treated with great kindness and respect, and were left to manage the affairs of the temple and to collect and to expend the tax, according to their own judgment. Three years after, however, the British Government, in order to increase its revenues, took charge of the temple, and collected the tax through its own officers. A part of the revenue was devoted to the temple, the rest went to the public treasury. It had been the custom from time immemorial for parents to sacrifice their children at Gunga Sagar. The children were taken down to that island, and, after holy texts had been read and poojah performed, were thrown into the sea. The practice, though it arose from religious motives, was no where enjoined in the shastras. The Governor General issued a Regulation on the 20th August, 1802, forbidding the custom entirely, and sent a company of sepoy to prevent it. Though this

measure was a direct interference with the religious prejudices of the Natives, not a murmur was heard through the country, and when it was mentioned twenty-five years after, as an argument for the abolition of Sutees, it was found to have been so entirely forgotten, that many denied that it had ever existed

The career of Lord Wellesley was the most brilliant period of our Indian history. In the various wars into which he was forced, he extended this empire one-third beyond its former size, and increased the revenues to fifteen crores, forty lakhs of Rupees. But with this increase of revenue there was also an increase of debt. The Directors expressed their severe displeasure at the warlike measures which he had pursued and were anxious to adopt a more peaceful policy. They were willing even to give up some of the advantages which had been gained. They were not yet convinced that in India we must be every thing, or nothing. They went so far as to charge Lord Wellesley with having infringed an Act of Parliament. Finding that he had lost the confidence of the Court, he sent a public reply in Council to their letter, and then resolved to withdraw from the Government. He embarked for England towards the close of 1805. On his arrival, he was assailed both in and out of Parliament, just as his two great predecessors, Clive and Hastings had been, though not with the same

turn made for the wise and firm policy, and the brilliant success by which the empire had been so greatly enlarged. The most remarkable circumstances attending the attack made on him in Parliament, was that Lord Moira denounced his conduct in the House of Lords, and declared the conquests he had made to be unjustifiable, and contrary to the Acts of Parliament. Within ten years of this time, Lord Moira having himself been appointed Governor General, engaged in greater wars, and made more extensive conquests than those for which he had blamed Lord Wellesley. So difficult is it for those who have never lived and acted among Asiatics to judge of the propriety of political measures in India.

The Court of Directors had now determined to make peace at any sacrifice, and to reduce their expenditure. They selected Lord Cornwallis for their new Governor General, and though he was greatly advanced in years, he agreed to their proposals, and embarked for Calcutta, where he landed on the 30th July, 1805. He proceeded without delay to the Western provinces, to conclude treaties with the Native powers, but his health gradually declined as he went on, and he expired at Ghazepore on the 5th of October of the same year. When the intelligence of his decease reached England, the Directors, to shew their respect for him, presented his son with the sum of 10,000 Pounds.

Sir George Barlow, the senior member of Council, immediately succeeded him as Governor General. His appointment to this high office was confirmed by the Court of Directors, but the King's Ministers informed them that the nomination to this post belonged to them. Some sharp discussion took place, which was concluded by appointing Lord Minto as Governor General. It was during Sir George Barlow's administration that the Government determined to take to itself the tax received on the pilgrims at Juggnath, and to assume the direction of the temple. Various means were devised to induce the people to resort to the temple, and thus to increase the revenues of the state, and the system which was then laid down, has now prevailed for more than thirty years.

Lord Minto landed in Calcutta on the 31st of July, 1807. During his administration, which extended to the end of the year 1813, no material change was made in the affairs of Bengal, except that the transit duties which had been taken off by Lord Cornwallis in 1788, and laid on again in 1801, were placed under a new arrangement, more severe than ever. An addition was thus made to the revenues of the country, but trade was interrupted, and the people were subject to the severest oppression. In 1810, the Islands of Bourbon and the Mauritius, were captured from the French by

the British, and the next year, the rich island of Java was taken from the Dutch

In the year 1813, the Charter of the Company, which had been granted by Parliament twenty years before, expired, and a new Charter was given. Very important changes were made on this occasion in the affairs of the country. Before this period, for more than two centuries, the entire trade between England and India, had been exclusively in the hands of the Company. But the Company which had begun with a counting house, was now seated on the throne of India, and it was considered that the sovereign should not trade. By the new arrangements of this year, the Company had the government, and the merchants, the trade of India. The difficulty which Europeans, not in the service, had experienced in obtaining permission to go out to India, was relaxed, and those to whom the Directors refused leave, were directed to apply to the Board of Control.

On the 4th of October, 1813, Lord Minto resigned the Government of India into the hands of Lord Moira, afterwards the Marquis of Hastings, and returned to England, but died before he could reach his own house.

## SECTION XIX.

Lord Hastings, on assuming the Government, found that the Nepaulse had been gradually making encroachments on the English territories



The reigning family had obtained the sovereignty in Nepal, by conquest, in the course of the last century, had gradually increased its dominions, and various disputes had occurred in the time of Lord Minto. Lord Hastings found that a war with Nepal was inevitable. He used all the means in his power to preserve peace, but the insolence of the Court of Katmandoo obliged him at length, in the year 1814, to declare war. Little was done in the first campaign, but in that of 1815, the British troops under General Ochterlony were completely successful. The Nepauleses were obliged to purchase a peace by giving up a large portion of their territories.

The Pindarees, a large body of mounted robbers, residing in Central India, had been in the habit for many years of plundering the whole of that country, and they had latterly entered the British territories. They were under the protection of the various Kings and Chiefs in that region. Their ravages were extended for more than a thousand miles, and the expense to which the British Government was put, year after year, to keep up a body of troops to repel them, began to be severely felt. It appeared at length to be the most advisable course, to make one grand effort to root them out of the country. After having obtained the permission of the Court of Directors, Lord Hastings ordered a large army to be assembled from all the three Presidencies. The

troops gradually surrounded these freebooters in their haunts, and one by one cut up, and effectually destroyed all their divisions. While the army was in the field in pursuit of the Pindars, the Peshwa, the Nagpore Rajah and Holkar, all rose with one accord against the English; in the hope of being able, by a combined effort, to expel them from the country. But all these Chiefs were defeated, the Peshwa and the Nagpore Rajah, were dethroned, and a large portion of their dominions was annexed to the British territories. All this was effected under the Marquis of Hastings, who, ten years before, had denounced the same policy in the Marquis of Wellesley. He exhibited, on this occasion, though nearly sixty five years of age, all that wisdom and energy, which so great an occasion demanded. The power of the Pindarries and of the Alahattas was entirely broken, and the British became predominant in India.

Before the days of Lord Hastings, no effort had been made to give the blessings of education to the people. It was considered bad policy to enlighten them, because their ignorance was regarded as a kind of security for the continuance of our empire. Lord Hastings rejected this barbarous notion. He declared that the British Government had been planted in India for the good of the people, and that it was the duty of the English to raise them in the scale of civilization. A new

era commenced in his reign, schools were set up, and efforts to improve the Native mind, were, for the first time, encouraged. On the 29th of May, 1818, the first Native newspaper which had ever been published in India, appeared from the Serampore Press, under the title of the *Sumachar Duniya*. As soon as Lord Hastings was presented with a copy of it, instead of feeling alarmed at this novel attempt to enlighten the people, he took it into Council, and passed an order allowing it to be circulated at one fourth of the ordinary postage. About the same period the Calcutta School Book Society was formed at Calcutta, under the auspices of Lady Hastings, chiefly through the efforts of Mr W B Bayley and Dr Carey. At the same time, a School Society was formed in the metropolis for the education of Native youth. Large Schools for instructing the Natives through their own language were opened in the neighbourhood of Chinsurah by the Rev Mr May, and in that of Serampore by the Serampore Missionaries. The Hindoo College, at which so many thousand Natives have imbibed a knowledge of the English language and of European science, was also established, through the exertions of Sir Edward Hyde East, Mr J H Hamington, and Mr. David Hare. The liberal spirit of the Marquis of Hastings was caught by the Europeans and Natives, and institutions which would not have been dreamt of some years before, sprung up, and supported with the utmost liberality.

Lord Hastings left India in January, 1823. By his great exertions, during nine years, the fortunes of the Company had been greatly increased, the revenues improved, and the debt diminished. At no period had the British empire in India, been in a more flourishing state. The treasury was full, and the income exceeded the expenditure by nearly two crores of Rupees a year.

Mr George Canning, one of the very ablest of all the King's ministers, had for some time presided at the Board of Control, where he had obtained a complete knowledge of Indian affairs. On the resignation of Lord Hastings, he was appointed Governor General. But after his preparations were complete, the death of one of his colleagues led to his being selected for an office of the highest trust in England. The Directors then fixed on Lord Amherst, who had proceeded ten years before to Peking as Ambassador from the King of England, and sent him out as Governor General. During the interval, between the departure of Lord Hastings, and the arrival of Lord Amherst, who landed in Calcutta on the 1st of August, 1823, the post of Governor General was filled by the senior Member of Council, Mr John Adam. His administration was remarkable only for the odious measure of laying restrictions on the Press.

Lord Amherst found on his arrival in Calcutta, that the conduct of the Burmese required his im-

The reigning family had obtained the throne of Ava, about the same time at which the English obtained their first possessions in Bengal. The King had recently conquered Mungpore and Assam, and being thus inflated with pride, entertained the idea of extending his conquests to Bengal. While at peace with the English Government, he had pushed some of his troops into the Company's territories in the direction of Cachar and Arracan. He made an attack on the island of Shipoor, below the Teak Naf river, on the Arracan coast, and put to death some of the small guard stationed there. When an explanation was demanded of him at Ava, he haughtily replied, that he would retake the island, and that unless his right to it was admitted, he would invade Bengal. These aggressions induced the Governor-General to declare war against the Burmese on the 5th March, 1824. On the 11th May, the British troops landed in the Burmese territories and took possession of the valuable seaport of Rangoon. Soon after, the provinces of Assam and Arracan and the coast of Mergui were taken possession of. The British army advanced by slow degrees towards the capital, Ava, and in its progress took stockade after stockade, and town after town, and repeatedly defeated the Burmese armies. In the beginning of 1826, the British troops arrived within a few marches of Umerapoore, when the King, to save his capital, agreed to the terms

proposed by the English, and a treaty was concluded which passes under the name of the Treaty of Yandaboo. By it, the Burmese relinquished to the English, Mumpore, Assam and Arracan, and the whole of the Martaban coast, and agreed to pay one crore of Rupees towards the expenses of the war.

While the English troops were employed in hostilities with the Burmese, discussions arose with the Chief of Bhurtpore, Dooryun Sal, who, with his brother Madhoo Singh, attempted to take the government from the hands of their cousin, Bulwant Singh, then a minor. Sir Charles Metcalfe made every exertion to bring Dooryun Sal to reason, but in vain, and it was seen that an appeal to arms had become necessary. The capture of this place was a matter of no ordinary importance. In 1802, it had been invested by Lord Lake, and a greater number of officers and men had perished in the siege than had ever fallen before any town besieged by the English in India. Though the Rajah paid twenty lakhs of Rupees on the retirement of the English, yet the place was not taken. In fact it was the only Fort which they had ever besieged without taking, and reports were accordingly spread from one end of India to the other, that they never could reduce it. It was surrounded by a very thick mud wall, with a wide ditch at its base. While a large army was employed in the Burmese territories, however, a force of twenty

thousand men, with a hundred pieces of artillery, was suddenly collected before it, and all India turned its eyes with deep anxiety on the movement. The operations begun on the 23d of December, and on the 18th of January, 1826, the place was taken by Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief. Dooryn Sal fell into the hands of the English, and was sent to the fortress of Alahabad. These military operations in Burmah and before Bhutpore involved the Government in a debt of more than thirteen crores of Rupees.

In 1827, Lord Amherst proceeded to the Western Provinces, and visited Delhi. An explanation then took place with the King, relative to the position and character of the British Government. The Governor General distinctly informed his Majesty, that whatever vassalage the English might be supposed to owe to the House of Timur was at an end, and that the crown of Hindustan had passed over to them. This declaration was made just sixty years after the battle of Plassey. The royal family was deeply dejected at the intelligence. They felt, that whatever indignities they had experienced from the Alahattas, their title to the empire of India had always been respected, but they now perceived that the sceptre had for ever passed from them. The feelings of the people throughout India on this occasion were very blunt, and not the least concern was manifested in the matter.

Lord Amherst left the Government in the hands of Mr William Butterworth Bayley, and returned to England at the close of March, 1828. When information reached England of his intention to resign his office, Lord William Bentinck brought his claims to the government before the Court of Directors. He had been Governor of Madras more than twenty years before, but in a hasty moment had been unjustly recalled by them. They admitted his claim on this occasion, and he was appointed Governor General in 1827. It must be confessed that few men could have been found in England more fit for this important situation. His Lordship arrived in Calcutta on the 4th of July, 1828. The finances of the country, which Lord Hastings had left in the most flourishing condition not six years before, were now in the most deplorable state. The debt was terrific, and the expenditure exceeded the income. Lord William Bentinck pledged himself to the Court before his departure to reduce the expenses. Immediately on his arrival, he appointed two Committees of Finance, to examine, the one the Civil, the other the Military branch of the public expenditure, and to point out what reductions might be made. By their advice a great diminution of the public charges was made in all departments of the service. This was necessarily an odious measure, and those who suffered from Lord William Bentinck's reductions, poured their abuse on him without mea-



sure, for having carried the Court's orders into execution. No public officer, to whose lot it falls to reduce the expenses of the state, can ever expect justice, but from a succeeding generation. His Lordship, notwithstanding all the clamor that was raised against him, pursued his way steadily and calmly, till he had succeeded in diminishing the public expenditure, and making a provision for wiping out the debt.

The attention of Government had been drawn for many years to the rite of Suttee, and enquiries had been made to ascertain the extent to which it was practised, and the feelings of the people. A great number of the public officers represented that the Natives were very much attached to it, and that it would be dangerous to abolish it. Lord William Bentinck, on his arrival, examined the question with great care, and became convinced that the abolition of it was wise. The Supreme Council agreed with him in this opinion, and on the 1st of December, 1829, that memorable Act was passed, by which this cruel and murderous practice was extinguished throughout the British dominions. A number of wealthy and respectable Natives took umbrage at this deed of mercy, they considered it an interference with their religious practices, and petitioned the Governor General to rescind the Act. Lord William Bentinck brought forward many strong reasons for abolishing the rite, and refused to agree to their

tion. He assured the petitioners, however, that though the British Government was obliged to prohibit a practice which occasioned such a loss of life every year, it would not depart from those principles of toleration by which it had always been guided. At the same time an address was presented to Lord William Bentinck by another body of very influential Natives, at the head of whom were Dwarkanath Tagore, and Roy Kaler-nauth Chowdry, offering their warm thanks for this benevolent act. Those who advocated the rite, immediately established a Dhama Subha, or Society, in Calcutta, raised large subscriptions, and sent an English Attorney to England, with a petition to the Privy Council, to beg that the practice might be restored. But the King's ministers after having heard all that could be said in its favour, confirmed the abolition. Nine years have elapsed since the rite was forbidden, and not the slightest symptom of discontent has been manifested. Indeed, this barbarous practice is now almost forgotten, and unless it be recorded on the page of history, the next generation will scarcely believe that it ever existed.

In 1831, a great change began to be made in the Courts of Justice. Heretofore, Natives had been employed on mean salaries, in adjudging only the most trifling suits, but Lord William determined to employ them to a much greater extent, and thus to raise the Native character. In

this year, the salaries and the jurisdiction of the Moonsiffs and Sudder Ameen were increased, and a new class of officers, denominated Principal Sudder Ameen, was created, with very large emoluments and great judicial powers. The office of Registrar was abolished, the Provincial Courts were done away, and there remained only the Courts held by Natives, the Zillah Judges, and the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. This was the foundation of the new system, which has now been in progress during the last eight years. The result of it is, that the primary hearing and decision of causes, is entrusted to those Courts which are chiefly superintended by Natives, and that European Judges are employed only in hearing appeals from their decrees. Great improvement was also made by Lord William Bentinck in the Criminal Courts. Formerly, the sessions were held once in six months by the Courts of Circuit, then once in three months by the Commissioners, but at length it was ordered that they should be held once a month by the Civil and Session Judge, thus the painful detention of prisoners and witnesses was avoided. It is impossible, however, in this brief sketch to detail the various improvements which were made during the active reign of Lord William Bentinck. They all had for their object, to raise the Native character, and to simplify public business.

In the year 1831, Ram Mohun Roy published

for England. He was the most enlightened Native who had appeared for a long time in Bengal. He was by birth a Brahmin, and had been employed in situations of trust under the British Government. He was well versed in Bengalee and Persian, in Sanskrit and English, and his mind was filled with various knowledge. He had endeavoured to withdraw his countrymen from the worship of the gods and goddesses, and to bring them back to the simple system of the Vedas. But strange to say, he was treated by his fellow-countrymen as a heretic, though the Hindoos still profess to be devoted to the Vedas. But even those who differed from him, admired his great talents, and considered it an honour to their country to have produced such a man. We have already mentioned, that the supremacy of the imperial family of Timur was abolished in the time of Lord Amherst. The Emperor was anxious to regain the honours which he had lost, and he determined to appeal to the Home Authorities. He chose Ram Mohun Roy to plead his cause. Though in the earlier days of Hindooism it was considered no disgrace for a Hindoo to proceed to sea, yet in this iron age, a man is supposed to lose caste by going on board ship. Ram Mohun Roy, regardless of the frowns of his fellow-countrymen, embarked for England, where he was received with very great distinction. The object of his voyage was not accomplished, the British Govern-

ment refused to restore the supremacy of the House of Timur, which had been a pensioner upon its bounty for thirty years, but Ram Mohun Roy obtained an increase of three lakhs of Rupees to the income of this family. He died before his return, and lies buried near the city of Bristol.

The year 1833 was a remarkable period in the history of Bengal. It began with the fall of the great Houses of Agency, which had existed, some of them for half a century. The first, that of Palmer and Company, was obliged to close in 1830. The five others held on for three or four years, but they fell at length, and involved the public in a loss of sixteen crores of Rupees, not two crores of which have been recovered from their assets.

It was in this year also that the Charter of the Company was renewed after another lapse of twenty years. Great changes were thereby made in the public affairs of the country. The Company was obliged to give up all connection with trade in India, and their factories were ordered to be sold. Their trade to China, which, for the last twenty years had been their only support, they were obliged to resign, and in fact, to put off entirely the commercial character which they had borne for two hundred and thirty-three years, and to confine themselves to the government of India. It was provided that the holders of East India stock in England should receive sixty-five lakhs of Rupees a year out of the revenues of India for

twenty years, a measure which has been universally and justly condemned. A Legislative Council was to be formed at Calcutta, to consist of all the ordinary members of Council, and of one member, not in the Company's service. This Council was to pass laws for all India, and to control and regulate the Supreme Court. A Law Commission was also nominated to frame a Code of Laws for the whole country. The Governor General was made the Supreme ruler throughout India, and the other Presidencies were placed under his authority. The Bengal Presidency was divided into two, that of Calcutta and that of Agra. Such were the principal alterations made by the new Charter. Great encouragement was given during the administration of Lord William Bentinck to the education of the people, especially in the English language. In 1813, Parliament had directed that the sum of one lakh of Rupees a year of the public revenues should be laid out for the improvement of the people in learning. This sum had been devoted almost entirely to the support of Sanskrit and Arabic literature, neither of which could be of any service to the body of the people. Lord William Bentinck considered the study of the English language as of far greater importance, and expended a sum greatly exceeding the grant of Parliament in the establishment of English schools. At the same time, he directed that the stipends which had been granted to the students in the Govern-

ment Sanskrit and Arabic Colleges should not be renewed when the present incumbents had left them. By these and other means, the desire for the study of the English language became very generally diffused through the country.

One of the most beneficial acts of his reign was the establishment of the Native Medical College in Calcutta upon a large scale. Professors were appointed in every branch of study necessary to qualify the Natives to become good surgeons and physicians. The benefit resulting from this institution is likely to be incalculable.

It was during Lord William Bentinck's reign that a Savings Bank was established in Calcutta, in order to promote economy among the people of the country. It has been crowned with the most complete success. His Lordship also turned his attention to the Transit Duties. It had been the custom from time immemorial to levy duties on all articles, the growth of the country, passing from one part of it to the other. Custom Houses were planted upon all the great paths, whether by land or by water, and officers were appointed to stop and search all goods. Thus the Government raised a revenue by the interruption of commerce, but the officers who were fixed at these toll houses took two Rupees themselves for every Rupee that was collected for Government; in fact they so greatly oppressed the country, that this system was justly denominated by one

of the most enlightened of the European officers connected with it, a curse. The English found the duties in existence when they took the government from the Mahomedans and they continued them. But the great mind of Lord Cornwallis saw at once the evils which they inflicted on the country, and in 1788, with one stroke of his pen he abolished the system, and shut up all the custom houses in the interior of the country. Thirteen years after, when the British Government, was looking about for new resources of revenue, this tax was laid on again. Lord William Bentinck appointed Mr C E Trevelyan, of the Bengal Civil Service, to examine and report upon the system, and then nominated a Committee to suggest the best means for abolishing the duties. Though they were not done away with during his Lordship's administration, yet the merit of having taken the first step towards abolishing them, is due to him.

Lord William had been from the commencement of his administration the great advocate of steam navigation both by sea and on the rivers of Bengal. He did all in his power to establish a monthly communication between England and India, but the Directors threw every obstacle in the way, and severely censured him for having, even now and then, employed the *Hugh Lindsay* in conveying the packets between Bombay and Suez. His Lordship however prevailed on them



to adopt the plan of employing non steamers to navigate the rivers of Bengal and the Western Provinces. These have been found so useful both by the Europeans and the Natives, that it has been necessary to double the number, and in time it is hoped that they will become as necessary and as common in this country as they are in England and America.

No war with external enemies disturbed Lord William Bentinck's administration, which closed in March, 1835. It was passed in peace and tranquillity, and was devoted to the improvement of the people. The true character of it, however, cannot be ascertained till the effects of his measures are fully developed. Some of his plans may have been deficient in wisdom, but still his government of this great empire will always form an important era in its history, and the Natives will long have reason to bless his name.

FINIS